"The Influence of Iranian Paintings and Architecture on Indian Painting and Architecture in the 16th and 17th Century"

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IN

HISTORY

By

MAHMOOD SEYYED

Under the guidance of

Dr. SUGITHA SUVARNA
Professor
Department of Studies in History

DEPARTMENT OF STUDIES IN HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE, MANASGANGOTRI
MYSORE – 570 006, INDIA

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MAHMOOD SEYYED

UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE

DEPARTMENT OF STUDIES IN HISTORY
MANASAGANGOTHRI, MYSORE – 570 006, KARNATAKA, INDIA

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Certificate

I, **MAHMOOD SEYYED,** certify that this thesis, "The Influence of Iranian paintings and Architecture on Indian Painting and Architecture in the 16^{th} and 17^{th} Century" is the result of research work done by me under the supervision of **Dr. Sugitha Suvarna,** Professor, at Department of History I am submitting this thesis for the award of the Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) Degree in History of the University of Mysore.

I further certify that this thesis has not been submitted by me for award of any other degree/diploma, in this or any other university.

Signature of Doctoral Candidate with Date
MAHMOOD SEYYED

Signature of Guide with Date
Dr. SUGITHA SUVARNA
Professor of History

Signature of Chairperson/Head of Department/
Institution with name and official seal

1- Introduction

There are significant and memorial artistic, literary and architectural works remained from the past in India, which are typically wonderful. Studying these works helps us know Indian style and talent better and on the other hand, it shows the influence of Iranian art and architecture on this vast subcontinent.

India is the land of wonders and mysteries. Differences in fields like language, culture and civilization are so various and wonderful that researchers do not know which historical, artistic and cultural work to visit or which part to deal with. Every part of India has its own story which is different from that of other parts. On the one side, presence of different nations with their special cultures, customs, traditions and civilizations in this vast land and intermingle of these elements with ethnic culture in all scientific, cultural, artistic and architectural fields has created magnificent effects and on the other side, interest of kings and rulers in popularizing culture and appropriate ideological background of these nations have laid the basis for construction of temples, mosques, palaces, shrines, libraries, gardens and thousands of other outstanding works in different schools. Every one of these works has its own typical splendor and glory.

Coming to power of Mughal in India was very influential in confirmation of ideological foundations in India. Rulers and emperors like Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan , Aurangzeb and other local rulers had exceeding interest in promotion of art and architecture and also culture. Great libraries were constructed; artists and thinkers were supported and along with these, the huge ideological movement of architecture in this land developed under the influence of Iranian and Mesopotamian art and architecture. Mughal were themselves men of talent, art and literature and interested in Iranian culture and art. They loved Iranian literature and utilized Iranian architecture in construction of buildings. The works remained from these periods, patterns, decorative designs and scriptures clearly reveal relations of Indian and Iranian arts. For example construction of

Qutub Minar ordered by Kutub-ud-din Ibek is very similar to Qabus Tower of Gonbad; Ghiaseddin Tughlagh constructed and octagonal shrine in Multan called Rukne Alam which its tile-work and brick-work is very similar to tile-work of Oljaytu Tower in Sultaniyya.

It is for certain that architecture of Mughal era combined with art and architecture of Timurid, Mesopotamia and Iran formed a rich and excellent style which differentiated characteristics of architecture in this era from those of previous periods in India and gave it global attractiveness.

Cultural relations of Iran and India go back to pre-historical eras of these two nations which have always had important roles in cultural and artistic exchanges between these two territories. Conflicts between Mongols of India with Ottomans and Uzbeks as well as warm family ties in the time of King Ismail after bringing back Babur's sister who had been captive to Uzbeks, improved relationship between Iran and India to its highest point in the time of Safavids. Also immigration of Iranians because of Mongols' familiarity with Iranian culture and presence of Iranian officials in ruling system of Mongols which itself had made Mongols of India interested in Iranian artists could be considered as elements of union between two countries. As Muslims entered India, painting entered new phases. This art which had roots in naturalism of Herat and Iran schools was introduced to India with the contribution of Iranian artists.

Iranian artists drew specific features for miniature of India in Mongolian period. These features maintained influential in local schools of India even to the time of Mongolian's decline. This feature that the art of Indian painting was an imitation of Safavid style became foundation of painting in India. When a separate temporary library was constructed in Kabul by Humayun, Khajeh Abd-al-samad and Mir Seyyed provided some paintings in Iranian style for Humayun. After Humayun's coming to Delhi and his death, features of Iranian art were established by Akbar and developed and bloomed by efforts of two Iranian masters. Then Jahangir mixed Iranian painting with European painting, as in this era Indian paintings in Iranian style but in the form of completely local images were exhibited.

Due to long residence of Iranian artists in India, their artistic characteristics also became localized but their descendants still followed painting style of Safavid era.

1-1- Historical background

There are a lot of books on architecture and painting which have been very helpful in carrying out this research. They have investigated the impact of Iranian architecture and painting on Indian architecture and painting. The followings are the list of the books. Although there is not enough scope for going through all of the books, some books which have had greater contribution in this research were appreciated.

Baburname

It was written by Zahir al-din Muhammad Babur. It involves his memoirs. It has a great historical value, since it was written by a king who witnessed the events, and probably he honestly reported the events in which he was involved including the events related to Khurasan, and especially Herat. He accompanied Emir Najm Sani in Ghujduwan battle. He was believed to be Shah Ismail's subordinate, and he used to mint coins in the name of 12 Imams, and mentioned his name in oratories. Thus, it has been connected to the Safavid Period history.

Tuzuk – i Jahangiri

It is a worthwhile work replete with Jahangir's thoughts. He refers to his friendship with Shah Abbas, Iranian ambassadors who came to India, and the text of the letters exchanged between Shah Abbas and him. He explains in details the account of Kandahar conquest by Shah Abbas I. He himself reported the account of his first 17^{th} year reign. The two following years were reported under his supervision by Motemaed Khan. The rest of Jahangir's period, including the 19^{th} year of his reign, was added by Mirza Hadi during his time. The current translation of the book, like Akbar name's translation, was not satisfactory to the researcher.

Motamed Khan followed Tuzuk in writing Eghbalname Jahangiri. The same holds true for Maser Jahangiri written by Khaje Kamgar. Anyway, these two works involve some additional information.

History of Alamaray-e-Abbasi

It was written by Iskandar Beg Turkmen (Munshi). He started writing it in 1616 A.D, and continued to write about the events till 1629 A.D (when Shah Abbas I died). It is the most valuable work about Safavid period during Shah Abbas's reign. It was published in two volumes by Iraj Afshar in 1966 A.D.Recently, it was published in three volumes by Donyay-e-Ketab Publication.

Golestan-e-Honar

It was written by Mirahmad Munshi Ghomi. It is significant in terms of shedding light on the arts of Safavid period especially painting and calligraphy. In 1974 A.D, Ahmad Khansari wrote a detailed introduction to it, and it was published by Bonyad-e-Farhang-e-Iran Publication.

Iran under the Safavaid

It was written by Roger Savory, and translated by Kambiz Azizi. Savory aimed at studying the history of Safavid era, and the factors contributing in the decline of this dynasty. He believed that Safavid's coming to power was the outcome of their ideological preparation and practice. He explicates the rise and decline of this dynasty, the ambitions and tribal competitions, Iran's relationship with the outside world in 16th and 17th century, and the glory of Isfahan.

It was first published in 1985 A.D by Sahar Publications. He has attempted some other works including: his numerous papers in Islamic Encyclopedia, his collaboration in writing the book *Iran after Islam: A Review of its History, Culture, and Language* (1964 A.D), he edited *An Introduction to Islamic Civilization* (1976A.D), and the translation of *Alamaray-e-Abbasi*.

Ayeene- Akbari

It was written by an Iranian historian of the 16^{th} and 17^{th} centuries called Abul-fazl ibn Mubarak Allami Naguri (1550 – 1602 A.D). It was written in Persian, and it includes historical, scientific, literary, and some other issues. It is one of the most helpful sources on the history of Indian civilization during 16^{th} and the early 17^{th} century. It consists of five parts, and published in three volumes. The third volume also includes the lives of some Iranian elites. It is complementary to *Akbarname* which was written by the same author on the events of fifty-one-year of Akbar's reign (1556 – 1605 A.D). The first and third volumes were published in Delhi in 1855, and then all of the volumes were published in Lucknow and Calcutta. It was translated into English two times.

Zafarnameh

It was written by the writer, historian, and poet of the 15^{th} century Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi who, due to his learning and knowledge, spent some part of his life with Mirza Shahrokh Timuri and his son Mirza Ibrahim. In 1442 A.D Sultan Mohammad came to power in Iraq, and assigned Ghom as his headquarter. He invited Sharafuddin who was teaching scholars in Yazd then, and paid him lots of respect. Since he arose against Shahrokh in 1446 A.D, Shahrokh attacked Isfahan, and defeated him, and killed many of his companions. Meanwhile Sharafuddin was accused of provoking Sultan Mohammad, but he escaped death penalty by Mirza Abdullatif intervention. Shahrokh spared him, and then, he headed to Samarqand. After Mirza Shahrokh's death, he was asked by Sultan Mohammad to return to Yazd in 1449 A.D, and resided in a village called Taft till his death in 1454 A.D.

Sharafuddin had mastery in architecture, mathematics, and statistics and he wrote many books on them. When Isfahan and Fars was ruled by Ibrahim Sultan, Shahrokh's son, who was a learned man and literature lover, he used to visit his court. Ibrahim Sultan asked him to write Emir Timur's detailed biography. He obeyed and wrote *Zafarnameh* which was completed in 1425 A.D. Later, he added an introduction called History of Genghis which includes Turkish Khans' pedigree, history of Genghis, and his descendants. Some other parts were also included such as the account of Ghapchagh

Khans till 1428 A.D. Sharafuddin’s *Zafarnameh* is, in fact, another version of Emir Timur’s biography which was written for the first time by Nezami Shami under the same title. The difference lies in the fact that Shami’s *Zafarnameh* had simple style of writing; while, Sharafuddin’s used complicated style, and added his own poetry.

Islamic Art and Architecture (2) (1250 – 1800)

It was written by Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, and translated by Dr. Ya’qub Azhand. It studies the art and architecture of the ancient territories of Islamic world within the time span of Mughals conquests in the early 13th century and European conquests in the early 19th century in terms of geographical confines of Atlantic Ocean and Indian Ocean, flat plains and without tree of Eurasia, and desert of North Africa. In fact, it is a sequel to *Islamic Art and Architecture 1250* written by Etinghausen and Elg Grabber, published by Penguin Publication in 1987 A.D.

In the early part of this period, Iran and Eastern Islamic territories played crucial historical roles in Islamic world. But Mughal invasion shattered the previously Arab-run central government system, which in turn led to the Caliphate of Abbasi Dynasty. In the realm of art and architecture, Mughal conquests benefited Iran, and turned it into the epicenter of art and cultural innovations in Islamic world.

The book was completed around 1800 when the imperialistic presence European countries started to spread in the countries like Egypt, Algeria, and India. Although Iran and Turkey were not directly colonized, European materials and architecture began to replace local ones more or less in 19th century. It has a thorough investigation of these techniques. It also studies the art works of previous eras such as Ghobe-al-Sakhre Mosaics or ivory works of Ghortabe which are considered the masterpieces of Islamic art. The mastery of the late artwork is given priority in terms of techniques.

Indo-Iranian Art, Indo-Islamic

It was written by Madeline Hallide and Hermann Goetz, and translated by Dr.Ya'qub Azhand. The content of each book was divided into two periods. This historical classification is also consistent in terms of content.

1. The arts of Omavi, Abbasi, Samani, Ghaznavi, Seljuk, Kharazmi, Ilkhani, and Timuri, and other periods are taken together indicating their complementary nature.

2. Christian dates were changed into Hejri calendar by the translator using various books.

3. A glossary of art and historical terminologies, English to Persian and Persian to English, was included at the end of the book.

4. The characteristics of each one studied was accompanied by the name and address of the author separately at each section.

Islamic Art

It was written by Ernest Kennel, and translated by Dr. Ya' qub Azhand. It consists of ten chapters: 1. political issues, 2. sociological factors, 3. art and religion, 4. urbanization, 5. religious architecture, 6. non-religious architecture, 7. architecture and decoration, 8. ornamentation, 9. organizing work force, 10. Artworks; Like *Indo-Iranian and Indo-Islamic Art*, it studies the artworks.

Architecture of Iran during Safavid Period

It is a research work carried out by Cambridge University, and translated by Dr. Ya'qub Azhand, and published by Faramin Publication. It contains very helpful information about the architecture of Safavid period. The architecture was also investigated during the reign of each Safavid king, which is quite a unique work in this regard.

Miniatures of Iran and India School / Works of Muhammad Zaman the Safavid Period Painter

This book is the collection of papers by Stuart Cary Welch and Yahya Zoka. It consists of two sections. The first section is on the miniatures of Iran and India school written and compiled by Steward Cary. In includes very helpful information on the paintings of each Mughal king's period, as well as colorful and beautiful paintings of this era. The second section compiled by Yahya Zoka includes the works of Muhammad Zaman the Safavid era painter who founded a novel school in the painting of Safavid period. He implemented perspective, three dimensional and other features of European painting principles in Iranian painting, and accordingly saved it from decadence. It was first published in 1995 A.D by the publication organization of the Ministry of Islamic Culture and Teaching.

History of Ghaznavids

It was written by Edmund Clifford Bosworth, and translated by Hassan Anushe, and published by Amir Kabir Publication in 2003 A.D. It is a rich source on Iran during Ghazvani period. Indian and Pakistani researchers have shown more interest in studying the history of Ghaznavids. On the whole, western orientalogists have not shown that much interest in studying this dynasty. In fact, French and Italian archeologists disclosed many things about Ghaznavids during their excavations in Afghanistan. Their findings are complementary to what have been written about Ghaznavid kings. The book considers Ghaznavids as a Turkish Dynasty originated in the eastern borders of Iran at the time of the collapse or merging of previous dynasties of the region such as Samanids, Farighuni Kharazmshahids, Ziyarian, and Bovihiyan.

Moather-al-Omara

It was written by Samsamoddule Shahnavazkhan (died 1758) and his son Abu- hay. It consists of the lives of Mughal's great people alphabetically, and it is famous reference book in this regard. It was completed in 1780 A.D. It is important to note that such a worthwhile book was written during an uneasy period. My reference was its Persian text.

It was published in Bibliotica Indicia Collection. The English translation was used by Bow- ridge and Baini Prashad.

The Life of Shah Abbas I

It was published in five volumes by Prof. Nasrollah Falsafi on the life of Shah Abbas I. It is a unique work in terms of studying Safavid ties with European countries. It also talks about Shah Abbas I's capital, Isfahan, and its magnificent erections.

Taj Mahal

It is a paper by Muhammad Abdullah Ghaghtai, Lahore University professor, and translated by Rajabnia. It was published in 127th number of Farhang va Honar magazine in 1974. It contains very helpful information about Taj Mahal.

Itinerary of Klavixo

Ruygontletde Klavixo was a close companion of Henry III the king of Castile. As the king's ambassador he headed from Spain to Samarqand in 1403 A.D, and entered Emir timur's court in 1404 A.D, and after two years he returned to Madrid. He was a clever and wise man. He recorded what he had seen during his journey, which includes valuable information on political and social situation of that era.

1-2- Significance of the Problem

Iranian art and architecture has a distinctive place due to their expansion, and quality and quantity importance among Iranian arts. That is why most of the art and architectural researches have been directed to Iranian art and architecture. In spite of all researches carried out by domestic and foreign researchers, there are unsolved problems in this regard. They include the causes of Iranian painters' migration to India, the formation of Indo-Iranian painting school, and the impact of Iranian architecture on Indian architecture. Hence, taking the importance of the problem into consideration from art and social perspectives, I decided to choose this problem as my doctoral thesis so that I could contribute to better understanding of Iranian art and architecture.

Therefore, attempts have been made in clarifying this problem so that some steps could be taken in precise understanding of Iranian painting and painters in India. Shedding light on this issue assists us in better understanding Iranian painting (during early Safavid period) which could influence Indian painting due to its distinctive characteristics. It also played a very influential role in maintaining cultural ties between Iran and India.

This thesis tries to identify and introduce Iranian painters migrated to India along with their works. It also investigates the reasons behind their immigration through social and artistic perspectives. Architecture and its impact on Indian architecture are brought under scrutiny, since the study of architecture is as important as the study of painting. Firstly the architecture of Mughal period are introduced and explained, and then the architecture of Safavid period is explained separately.

The importance of this research work lies in the fact that not that much helpful and thorough investigations have been done in this regard. In seemingly scarce Persian sources and rather rich English sources, no information is offered concerning the formation of Indo-Iranian painting school, and the impact of Iranian architecture on Indian architecture. They have only mentioned them without discussing the reasons and causes. Hence, the necessity of carrying out such a research is felt in finding the reasons and causes behind the formation of Indo-Iranian painting school, and the influence of Iranian architecture; by taking into account political, social, and artistic factors.

1-3 - Statement of the Problem

When Timurid dynasty in Iran started to downfall, one of its descendents called Babur gained dominance over India, and founded a dynasty in his name called Baburian. The kings of this dynasty were art enthusiasts, and paid special attention to Iranian art especially painting and architecture.

Humayun, Babur’s son, was defeated by Sher Shah Afghan, and took refuge in Iran. He endeavored to convince some Iranian artist such as Abd-al-samad Shirazi and Mir Seyyed Ali to accompany him in his return to India. These two artists could found Indo-Iranian school of painting in India. After their death, many Iranian artists went to India, and they could uphold Indo-Iranian painting school in India.

The art enthusiastic kings of this dynasty left memorable architectural works which indicate the magnificence and enthusiasm of this dynasty. The architecture study period is on the opposite side of Mughal dynasty, and Iran during Safavid period. Safavid kings also left memorable architectural works which we can see them today. Therefore, this research attempts at studying the reasons behind the immigration of Iranian painters to India, which accordingly led to the formation of Indo-Iranian school of painting, as well as the impacts of Iranian architecture on Indian architecture.

The above-mentioned discussion entails the study of Iran and India relationship, the status of Indian paintings before the formation of Indo-Iranian painting school, the status of the paintings during Safavid period, and the architecture during Safavid and Mughal eras. Thus, each of them was discussed under separate chapters; because, awareness about these issues is the key in finding answers to the causes of the formation of Indo-Iranian painting school as well as the impact of Iranian painting and architecture on Indian art and architecture. A seemingly thorough chapter was allocated on the reasons behind the immigration of Iranian painters to Iran. After discussing these issues, the outcome of the formation of this school will be analyzed in chapter five.

1-4- Objectives

Without research objectives, a thesis will be on shaky ground and baseless. Thus, one of the essential elements of a research work is specifying the objectives. This thesis attempts at achieving the following objectives:

1. It is suggested that by studying the formation of Indo-Iranian painting school, the paintings of Iran and India, the formation of painting school in Safavid period, and the causes of Iranian painters' immigration to India during Safavid period are investigated.

2. It is suggested that for studying the spread and strengthening of Iranian culture and art in Indian, the outcome of the formation of Indo-Iranian painting school is investigated.

3. It is suggested that for studying the thriving of Iranian architecture in Safavid period, the architectural works of Shah Abbas in Isfahan are investigated.

4. It is suggested that for studying the impact of Iranian architecture on Indian architecture, Shah Jahan's period and the architecture of Taj Mahal are investigated.

1-5- Hyphothesis

Before carrying out any research work, objectives and direction of the research has to be specified. This is feasible through hypothetical framework. Thus, one or two subjects are grounded on a hypothetical framework, and then they are explicated. I have sought some hypotheses which I explain, interpret, and prove in the body of my thesis:

1. It seems that the immigration of Iranian painters to India, in addition to the formation of Indo-Iranian painting school, influenced the paintings of Safavid period in Iran.

2. It seems that the formation of Indo-Iranian painting school led to the spread and strengthening of Iranian culture and art in India.

3. It seems that the capital shift in Safavid period (Shah Abbas) is one of the factors contributing to the growth of Iranian architecture.

4. It seems that the Safavid period Iranian architecture had more impact on the architecture of Jahangir and Shah Jahan's period than any other Mughal kings.

The second to fifth chapters of the thesis are dedicated to the formation of Indo-Iranian painting school and the contributing factors, the impact of this school on the paintings of Safavid period, spread and strengthening Iranian culture and art in India, and the impact of Iranian architecture on Indian architecture during Mughal period.

1-6 - Methodology and the Sources

For carrying out a thesis or paper, a suitable methodology must be implemented; because, without specifying the methodology, achieving the research objectives is either difficult or even impossible. Accordingly, I have implemented library research methodology. The previous researches have been found very fruitful.

The sources which could be implemented in this research are firstly identified, and then they were classified according to their importance, so that they would be used during the research procedure through note-taking.

When the identities of the paintings were not clear in terms of being Indian or Iranian, I have considered them as Iranian paintings according to the likelihood of their names to Iranian ones. Only the works of Iranian painters in India have been investigated.

Finally, I need to explain briefly the implemented sources as well as the characteristics of each group. The sources have been divided into two groups:

1. Historical sources
2. Artistic sources

1. Historical Sources

Historical sources involve the books and research works done on Baburian and Safavid periods. They were used mostly for knowing the political and social situations of the periods which had a great influence on the formation of Indo-Iranian painting school. For example, *Tazkere Humayun and Akbar,* Bayazid, the author, wrote about social, political, and artistic situations of Akbar's period. Or *Jahangosha-ye-Khaghan* is the only book which studies Shah Ismail I period very well. Other helpful historical sources are *Baburname*, *Akbarname,* and *Jahangirname,* which involve these kings' memoirs. Nowadays, they are used as historical sources for studying Baburian period. Unfortunately, art related issues are less addressed in the historical sources written by Iranian. And a book like Golestan-e-Honar is unique in this regard.

2. Artistic Sources

Artistic sources are the ones which directly talk about art and artists. Fortunately, in the recent decades, useful steps have been taken in identifying Iranian art and artist. But unfortunately little researches have been carried out on the Iranian artists who resided in India. The works in this regard include Dr. Mehdi Ghoravi's papers under the title of

‘Magic of Color’ published in eight succeeding numbers of Art and People magazine. And also Dr. Isa Behnam’s papers called ‘Art and the history of neighbors’ which studies Indian paintings and Iranian painters resided in India.

The foreign books usually have superficial description of paintings, and introduce the sample paintings. They are more like catalogues, and usually refrain from discussing about the main subjects. Thus, they have mostly been used in introducing the sample paintings of Iranians resided in India.

1-7- Organizing

Chapter 1: Introduction, review of literature, significance of the subject, definition and explanation of the problem, objectives, hypotheses, and research methodology

Chapter 2: Introduction, A glance at painting in Indian from Pre-historic period till Mughal period, Impact of mystical thoughts in the painting of India, painting in Delhi Sultanate period, the art of painting in the time of Timurids in India. (1526 – 1858)

Chapter 3: Introduction, Historical relationship between Iran and Northern India, architecture during Khalji, Tughlagh, Seyyed, Lodi, Sur, Bahmani, and Timurian periods; Architecture during Mughal sultans’ periods, architecture of Taj Mahal

Chapter 4: Introduction, Iran and India relationship in Akamenid period, Iran and India relationship during Ashkanid and Sassanid periods, Iran-India relationship during Islamic period, Study the Art of the Iranian Painting during Safavid Dynasty, remaining murals of Safavid period, study of the causes of Iranian painters’ immigration to India and introducing some of migrant painters, formation of Indo-Iranian painting school and study of some of its paintings during Humayun, Akbar, and Jahangir’s periods; a review of Safavid architecture

Chapter 5: conclusion and appendixes, Bibliography

1-8- Iran (Safavids)

Safavid was an Iranian dynasty and followed Shia Islam. They ruled over Iran from 1502 to 1722 A.D. The founder of this dynasty was Shah Ismail I who was crowned in Tabriz in 1502 A.D, and the last king of this dynasty was Shah Sultan Hussein who was defeated by Afghans in 1722 A.D.

As his foremost step, he announced Shia as the official religion in the country, and Tabriz as the first capital of Shia in the Islamic world for spreading the culture of Ahl-e-Beit. It still enjoys a great popularity among Shia Moslems who believe that Tabriz played a crucial role in spread and expansion of this religion.

The emergence of Safavid dynasty is a turning point in the history of Iran after Islam; because, Iran could regain its national identity after elapse of centuries, and turned into a powerful and independent country in the eastern part of Islamic world. It started to complete closely with the northern empire. The state founded by Safavids in the early 16th century was a religious government based on Shia. It was the time when Iranians began to search for an identity; thus, this period is very important in this regard. In terms of long-term influence of Safavid achievements up to now, it can be said that they have been somewhat successful in solving military, economic, religious, and social problems. The achievements were bountiful in this period: the routes were secured and trade and business flourished. Religious minorities enjoyed tolerance. Enemies were made to withdraw. Art and crafts were flourished remarkably. And great thinkers emerged in the filed of philosophy. Despite domestic and foreign pressures, Safavid system lasted for 225 years in Iran.

Safavid Kings and their Reigning Terms

1. Shah Ismail I (1502 – 1524)
2. Shah Tahmasb I (1524 – 1576)
3. Shah Ismail II (1576 – 1577)

4. Shah Mohammad Khodabande (1577 – 1587)
5. Shah Abbas I (1587 – 1629)
6. Shah Safi (1529 – 1642)
7. Shah Abbas II (1642 – 1667)
8. Shah Suleiman (1667 – 1694)
9. Shah Sultan Hussein (1694 – 1722)
10. Shah Tahmasb II (1722 – 1732)
11. Shah Abbas III (1732 – 1736)

1-9- India (Mughals)

Indian Gorkanid, which is called Muhagl Empire or Baburi Empire, is a vast empire founded by the descendents of Emir Timur in India. This dynasty ruled over a great part of Indian peninsula including current India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and some parts of current Afghanistan from 1526 to 1857. The founder of this dynasty was Zahir-al-din Babur (1526 – 1530) who belonged to Joghatayee Turkish clan; he was Timur's descendent from father's side and Genghis Khan's from mother's side. Mughal had close and competitive connections with Timuri dynasty in Iran, and Safavid Empire. The glorious period of Mughal Empire lasted till the middle of Aurangzeb sovereignty; and Europeans called it the Great Mogul's Era. After him, that is to say Small Mogul Empire, the power of this empire was weakened.

Baburi Kings

Babur Shah (1526 – 1530) (Appendix, figure 1)

Humayun Shah (1530 – 1540) (Appendix, figure 2)

Afghans' Occupation Period (1540 – 1555)

Humayun Shah (1555 – 1556)

Akbar Shah (1556 – 1605) (Appendix, figure 3)

Jahangir Shah (1605 – 1627) (Appendix, figure 4)

Shah Jahan (1627 – 1658) (Appendix, figure 5)

Aurangzeb (1658 – 1707) (Appendix, figure 6)

Other Kings of this Dynasty

Bahador Shah (1707 – 1712)

Jahandar Shah (1712 – 1713)

Farrokh Sayyar Shah (1719 – 1719)

Rafi-o-darajaat (1719 – 1719)

Rafi-o-dolat (Shah Jahan II) (1719 – 1719)

Nikko Sir (1720 – 1720)

Muhammad Ibrahim (1720 – 1720)

Muhammad Shah (1720 – 1748) (defeated by Nader Shah)

Ahmad Shah Bahador (1748 – 1754)

Alamgir II (1754 – 1759)

Shah Jahan III (1759 – 1759)

Shah Alamgir II (1759 – 1806)

Akbar Shah II (1806 – 1837)

Bahador Shah II (1837 – 1857)

Bahador Shah II was the last Mughal ruler who surrendered the thrown to the English. Thus, India started a new civilization during Akbar Shah, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb periods, and then started to weaken.

2- Introduction

According to Jawaher Lal Nehru’s opinion, and unlike the popular belief, Iran and India relationship goes back even beyond Aryan migration to these regions. Even some believe that these ties were not developed and thrived during Aryan era, and they were either abolished or diminished in comparison to previous eras. Researchers believe that these tribes were segregated due to their religious beliefs and faiths, and after their settlement in Iran and India, their relationships were declined because of these differences.[1]

Since Indian and Iranian cultures belong to eastern cultures, common views and backgrounds helped the development and blossoming of Indian art. But it should not be forgotten that the remarkable features of Indian artists lies in the fact that they present adroitly what they have learned and intermingled.[2]

Babur's era was the period of cultural evolution, revival of ancient Indian literature and philosophy, and growth and development of Persian language, literature, and culture. Farsi was recognized as the official language of India during Akbar’s reign, and it was one of the languages of communication and understanding among different communities. Furthermore, the intermingling of Iran and India’s cultures reached its peak in Babur's era. It is interesting to note that prior to Babur's dynasty, Farsi language and literature had already been developed in India by sultans, and many books had been written in Farsi on various subjects. During Babur's era, most of the scholars, scientists, and men of letters gathered in a greater scale in Akbar and Shah Jahan's courts, and they started to write and translate in Farsi, and they developed Persian language and literature in a manner that they could influence religious books of some groups of artists.

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[1]Gharvi, Mehdi. “An Introduction to Cultural Relations of Iran and India in Ancient Times (2)”, Historical Studies, no.6, pp 114-115

2. Yektaee, Majid. *Introduction of Iranian and Islamic Culture and Civilization to India and Pakistan*, Tehran Press, 1974, p 35

Nevertheless, after the settlement of the East India Company and annexation of India to one of the British colonies, huge efforts had been implemented in replacing the Persian language and literature with English language and literature, and unfortunately it was done.[1] Iran and India relationship has been expansive in terms of art, and this expansion is not limited to pictorial arts, and it includes the influence of Persian language, literature, and culture in India. It is known that Humayun's travel to Iran's court incited him to support artists. On his demand, two well-known artists of that period left Iran and settled in India. This also can serve as a key for better understanding of the issue as well as study of the influences of Iranian art on Indian art.[2]

2-1- A glance at painting in India from pre-historic period till Mughal period

Indian painting and miniature-making are formed in two ways. Firstly, there is a style called Raj-put.[3] This style is influenced by local Indian paintings and carvings of Ajanta cave. The second style is called Mughal painting which is Indo-Iranian miniatures and mostly influenced by Herat style. Pre-Mughal miniatures date back from 11th to 16th century and the miniatures of Mughal period starts from the late 15th until the early 17th century. Then we come across the famous paintings of Deccan known as Bijapur style. After that Rajasthan style emerged covering 17th to 19th century. In the 17th and 18th century with the advent of western art and different schools in India we come across works which are devoid of mystical ideas and it seems that Islamic views are forgotten. British colonizers heavily influenced painting and sculpture. The history of the painting of India is as ancient as the history of civilization of that country. Ancient literary works

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[1] Ershad, Farhnag. *Historical Immigration of Iranians to India,* Institution of Cultural Studies and Research under Ministry of Culture and Academic Education, Tehran: 1978, p 90

[2] Gharvi, "An Introduction to Culrural Relations of Iran and India in Ancient Times (2)", p 124

[3] Rajput: a group of Hindus who in Caste System of social classes are placed in the category of Cavaliers. These people who were famous for bravery and courage were mainly based in Rajasthan (an Indian state) and had the power and dominance there.

and books verify the fact that this art was very advanced and developed in ancient India. Skillful artists regarded it their profession and sultans, viziers, clergymen, and scientists benefited from it. In Kalidas drama written in the early centuries there is a reference to a painting which King Dushyanta draws for his beloved, Shakuntala, Minute details of even the fly or a honey-fly is illustrated around the complexion of his beloved.[1]

Frescoes were discovered in Ajanta caves. These caves are situated in a horseshoe-shaped valley near a jungle, 60 miles from Aurangabad of Deccan. Apparently, they served as solitary confinement for Buddhist monks. They carved the mountains to make caves, saloons, and temples and made colorful designs and drawings on the walls and ceilings. The exact date of constructing the caves is not known, but it is said that they were started in 2nd century B.C and the some of the latest constructed caves were painted in 8th century A.D. Therefore, one millennium of carving, paining, and sculpture were transferred from one generation to another one by the artists of the southern India, which stuns and mesmerizes viewers. There are 28 caves 4 of which were constructed for worshipping Chaitya and the rest are used for lodging of masses. Among the amazing paintings of the caves which depict all about human life from birth to death, and different aspects of urban life and civilization, one of them has close link with the history of Iran. The painting in one of the caves illustrates the representative of Iranian people in the early 7th century. It is shown, in the first meeting, that the king of Deccan, Pulakesi II, receives Iranian ambassadors. These ambassadors were sent there by the Sassanid king Khosrow Parviz (628 A.D). The second meeting depicts the ambassadors in a revelry wearing Iranian clothes, and holding Iranian weapons and potteries.

In Ellora, near Khaldabad of Deccan, there are a chain of caves which were made by Brahmins; and there are paintings and statues of Vishnu and Shiva. Although they are not as artistic and intricate as those of Ajanta caves, they were made by the best artists of India in 5th and 6th century A.D.

[1] Hekmat, Ali Asghar. *Shokountala or the Lost Ring*, Mumbai: 1948, p 50

Around 1000 A.D when Indian art and civilization were in decline, classical style painting and carving also declined; nevertheless, miniature and portrait were newly emerged. After 13^{th} century artists began drawing, illustrating, and painting on palm leaves and religious books.

Chinese and Buddhists used miniature-making for illustrating their religious books, and it started to thrive in Gujarat and Bihar, And after 14^{th} century, artists gradually used it for illustrating the papers of their religious books instead of painting on palm leaves. Later in Rajasthan different meeting inspired by Ramayana and Mahabharata tales were painted by light colors.

This art was very simple from 14^{th} to 15^{th} century and from then on it adopted technical intricacies and sophistication. It was during in the middle of the second millennium A.D that Muslim governments were established in northern India and Bengal. Although they banned painting and sculpture during their early reign, these arts were thrived and encouraged during the reign of Mughal kings.[1]

According to Abulfazl's *Ayeen-e-Akbari*, the historian and the minister, Akbar the son of Humayun was familiar with this art during his youth.[2] During his long reign, he trained painters. Evidence of this intricate art can be found in the wall-paintings of Fatehpur-Sikri. Muaragh and manuscripts of his own period and that of his descendants, that is Jahangir Shah and Shah Jahan, are the paragons of the development of painting and miniature-making arts in India of Middle Ages.

The painters of Mughal courts were Iranian or trained by Iranian masters and followed Herat and Isfahan schools. Thus the new Indian-Iranian school was emerged and its forerunners were Mansoor, Beshendas, Abulhasan, and others. Little by little Indian

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[1] Hekmat, Ali Asghar. *The Land of India,* Tehran University Press, 1959, pp 332-334

[2] There is an image of Akbar in Margha Golshan in Tehran Royal Library in which he is painting with his master. See *Collection of Iranian Painting and Miniature* by National Commission of UNESCO, Italy: 1956

school replaced the Iranian school, especially in Jaipur; the traditional painting of Rajasthan was revived.

In 19th century a new chapter in art was opened to India through relationship with European culture and civilization. Firstly in Calcutta and then in Bombay and Madras and finally in other northern cities Indian painters started to imitate and follow English, French, Dutch, and Italian painters. One of them called Ravivarma mastered and got famous in following the artistic techniques of western world. Howell was a painter from Calcutta who is considered a pioneer in the new movement, and the modern school of painting was started in his time. But, Indian painters gave up oil painting and turned to watercolor painting. Inspired by the ancient books of Ramayana and Mahabharata and other tales, they created masterpieces by following principles of landscape and perspective, and thus, regressed to ancient painting principles.

Around that time following and imitating Chinese and Japanese painting styles had become prevalent in India. Some of the works were combination of Chinese designs with Japanese coloration and Iranian background. Imitating European art was highly developed in Bombay, and decorative painting became very fashionable. The paintings of presidential palace, administration offices, and ministry buildings in New Delhi in the early 20th century are designed and drawn by the followers of Bombay school. Nowadays, there are great number contemporary painters and technical and masterful artists whose galleries of their works are in big cities of India, especially art galleries in New Delhi. (Jaipur House)[1]

2-2- Impact of mystical thoughts in the painting of India

With more than 1 billion population, India has a long history of friendly relations with Iran. They have had cultural, scientific, and artistic exchanges which have been sources of inspiration for artists of the world. In ancient times India was very rich in terms of sculpture and architecture. According to historical evidence, the oldest painting of India

[1] Hekmat, *The Land of India*, pp 336-337

belongs to Ajanta, Ellora, and some other caves, which is indicative of Indian artists' talent and ingenuity. Their religious-philosophical views and belief in eternity through transmigration called karma encouraged them to have more inclination towards architecture and sculpture, and accordingly they introduced their gods' role in Indian mythology. It was similar to visualizing God in Christian art. Their adroitness in making use of bulky stones brought about the development of their art in large scale.[1]

The early culture and civilization of India dates back three thousand B.C. It was formed along the Sind River where Aryans started to settle. They worshiped natural forces and these were their gods the traces of which can be found in traditional Vedic hymns. Thus, their philosophical and mystical views and thoughts about existence and essence of soul were rendered in prose or verse forms in their holy books called Upanishad.

In those days Indians were divided into four groups. The first group was Brahmins who performed religious rites. The second group was warriors who were rulers and governors of the country. The third group was farmers who cultivated the land for crops and created huge wealth. The fourth group was laborers who had to go through excruciating suffering. Right from birth each Indian was placed in one of these categories and change of class was impossible. There was a strong belief in absolute soul out of which individual souls originated and returned. It is the basic philosophy of Hinduism. It means that every individual's soul should achieve transmigration so that after death it can turn into a higher and more perfect being. The ultimate aim is reaching absolute perfection, that is, absolute soul which is called Nirvana. Also, Hindu gods are representation of the absolute soul, which manifest themselves in the images of Brahma or the god of creation, Vishnu or guardian of the universe, and Shiva or god of destruction. Consequently, as religious beliefs were formed, great epics were written. Ramayana is the epic myth of a prince called Rama in exile. It is the story of his search and finding a new bride called Sita. Likewise, Mahabharata like Homer's Iliad is an epic about Kurukshetra battle, and

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[1] Kashefi, S. “A Brief Look on the Art of Indian Painting and Its Mystical Ideology”, Honar Nameh Periodical, no. 2, Tehran: 2000, p 15

Bhagavad-Gita book are written in divine songs. Therefore, with regard to these epics and religious-philosophical views we can easily get to know Indian artists' way of thinking. The discovered works in Ajanta and Ellora caves bear witness to that. In these works, flat levels and colors are applied without lighting and personification and simultaneously unrealistic colors are used in personages which were placed at the center of the works. All of these characteristics allude to the fact that this trend has started from ancient Egypt and it was used in Iranian miniature making.

Indian writing system is called Devanagri. This terms means handwriting of gods and it indicates religious roots of this writing system. Indians' holy books were written in this system, and Sanskrit, considered as one of the oldest languages of the world, is written in this system as well and it has much in common with Avesta language. Nevertheless, writing was not that much common among ancient Indian communities, and the dominant means of communication was oral.[1]

After the birth of Buddha Sakyamuni around 563 B.C, many types of arts which had their roots in Asian countries mingled with his creed. In fact, he was a prince and ruler of a small region in the border of Nepal and India. According to the legend, he went through a miraculous birth and was called Siddhartha Gautama. Later the story of his birth became the subject of many artworks including stone carvings and painting. One sage had predicted that he would be a spiritual man and based on predestination, he would achieve Nirvana. Through a series of experiences and enlightenment he could get rid of aging, illness, and death; and turned his back on worldly pleasures. Finally, while meditating under a fig tree (Budgaya) in a village temple, he could achieve enlightenment. In fact, Buddha's attitude and worldview became the source of inspiration for Indian artists and it was depicted in many of their miniatures. Religious symbols are used in this regard.

[1] Zekrgu, H. "Services of Islamic Iranian Miniature as an Art to Paintings of Indian Holy Books", Sayeh Tooba, Booklet of Painting in the World of Islam, Tehran: 2001, p 177

Ashoka, emperor of India and the founder of Maurya dynasty, was converted into Buddhism. His palace in Pataliputra was constructed following Akamenid palaces. It is worth mentioning that the only imitation of Indians; and due to exuberance of Iran-India relationships especially after Islam, they were heavily influenced by Iranian arts. There is no remaining work from the early Indian paintings which are described in the ancient literature of India. However, the early remaining works belong to 5^{th} and 6^{th} century A.D in the residential caves of Ajanta and they illustrate Hindu beliefs.

For revealing the philosophical-mystical and symbolic painting of India, we take a look at Lakshmi Narayan's views in Delhi. He talks about the hidden concepts in the ancient works of India. Firstly, he refers to some symbols in order to shed more light on the traditional Indian concepts. Since humans had the fear of natural forces, he created gods and goddesses for supporting himself. Then, he started to get to know himself, which consisted of some stages:

1. Physical resources
2. Spiritual resources
3. Emotional resources

About emotional resources, it should be said that anger and hatred bring about human restriction. In the ancient philosophy of India, existence of human is likened to a cart which is dragged by a horse. If a balance is maintained between the cart and the horse, that is, between human existence and his spiritual resources, it can take him to God, the absolute power.

It should be mentioned that the horse represents man's emotional resources; and rational and spiritual resources are carrying strings by which the horse is guided. The cart is likened to body. When a man achieves the balance, he can get out of birth and death cycle. For attaining this purpose, there are three ways:

1. Balanced life

2. Following Knowledge (like Buddha and Mahaveer who could pass beyond material dimension).
3. Bakti method which is kind of Indian sophism (i.e. chanting and repeating god's name cause presence).

It should be mentioned that all types of arts in the National Museum, in fact, dates back to 5000 years, which indicate the grandeur of God. For example, this power is depicted in the form of water lily or one of the famous symbols in the art of Hinduism and Buddhism. This flower has many petals all of which turn round one axis and center. This center is the center of creation; that is why Buddha is depicted with this flower.

It is interesting to note that the Indian artist values plants and plant designs a lot; because plant plays an important role in maintaining human life. Also, in Indian faiths, the origin of all beings and universes is the eternal water. This water has two dimensions: one is the water per se and the other is the fire embedded in its being, Collision of the two elements – water and fire – is revealed in the form of stone, plant, animal, human, and all materials. All categories of life forms from lowest and highest beings are made up of these main elements. Therefore, according to these thoughts special stories and legends have emerged.

For example, the earth represented as a mother who feeds and raises us. Thus the mother earth is turned into a goddess. That is why mother has a high value in India, because she gives life and energy to all beings by feeding. About other symbols, it should be said that human is born completely naked and die naked which is illustrated in traditional Indian arts.

Also about other symbols, all through the history, woman's body has been one of the principal forms in traditional art of India, but since birth is impossible without the existence of man, woman's figure is drawn in standing position beside a tree; because the tree is the symbol of a man. Finally, these two factors contribute in procreation, life, and survival. In these pictures, woman is drawn in the shape of S. Also within the collection of symbols, Sri Lakshmi, one of the goddesses, is represented in the form of a woman. She has a womanly figure sitting or standing in a water lily, and squeezing her breast

with one hand. This position is the symbol of feeding and growing humankind as well as the symbol of passion.[1]

One of the symbols implemented in ancient art of India is the river which stands for knowledge and regarded as the goddess of knowledge and expression. For example, Saraswathi River is the source of inspiration for Vedas. Therefore, Indian mystics, artists, and men of letters have had special respect for this river, because water has fertilizing effects on earth. Thus, clinging to these deities, man has been in search of their favor, affectation, and assistance. For achieving this purpose, they reflected on balance and equilibrium through which man can achieve perfection. For attaining this aim, one should reflect on four issues and perform them:

1. Respecting holy laws, spirituality, and divine values
2. Maintaining balance in every respect of society without which piety is impossible. No one should violate the balance for feeding his family and friends.
3. Joyous aspects of life including all pleasures of five senses. For example, enjoying natural sceneries, theatre, having sex especially marriage. Sex is considered as the ultimate pleasure and enjoyment.
4. Achieving freedom; that is, getting rid of birth-death cycle. When a human achieves such a balance, his responsibility in this mundane world ends and he can set himself free of birth-death cycle.

For attaining these four purposes, three other methods become necessary; two of them involve balanced life and path of knowledge. They were followed and achieved fully by Buddha and apostles of Jainism. During their lifetime they could get out of birth-death cycle and go beyond all dimensions of material life. They could overcome anxiety, jealousy, grief, despondency, and other annoying problems. Thus, they could reach illumination. Jesus never got angry in his life struggles. The third method is influenced by Iranian mysticism through which an earthly being can get connected to the absolute

[1] Kashefi, “A Brief Look on the Art of Indian Painting and Its Mystical Ideology”, pp 18-22

source of divinity by repeating God's name.[1] About idols it can be said that the same procedure is applied for connection between an earthly being and his absolute divine source and the aim is not worshipping the idols per se. These palpable figures are symbols through which one can get connected to impalpable and invisible beings. By the help of these symbolic gods on earth, a pious Indian faces a unique god and an eternal force to attain his needs and eliminate vice and abomination. Thus he can reach the stage of unity (unity of being).[2]The ultimate aim of human is achieving such a state. In fact this stage is the state of unification and not that of idol-worshipping or paganism; a state in which there would be no idol. [3]

2-3- Painting in Delhi Sultanate Period

In the early years of Hejri Ghamari, Moslems or better to say Iranians started numerous invasions India. The longest and toughest ones occurred during Ghaznavi period. However, none of these invasions led to the establishment and formation of a state governed by Moslems until the time when kutub-ud-din established a Moslem-ruled government in 1206 A.D. and it came to be known as Mamlookan Dynasty.

Formation of the Islamic government in India brought about by a series of long-standing clashes between Ghorians and Ghaznavians. One of the Ghori rulers called Ghiaseddin Abulfath Mohammad ben Sam (558-559 A.D) occupied the capital of Ghaznavian, Ghaznei, in 1174 A.D. and gave it over to his brother, Shehab-eddin Mohammad Sam (1163-1206 A.D). Sultan Shehab-eddin is known as Mohammad Ghori; he attempted to conquer Ghaznavi colonies in the northern India. At last he captured the last Ghaznavi king, Khosrow Malek, and put an end to the dominance of Ghaznavian in India. He attacked northern part of India several times and conquered the center of Indian peninsula, Delhi. Finally, he killed the most famous Hindu hero, Prithvi Raj Chauhan (Raj of Ejimer and Delhi) in a bloody fighting and seized the control of the whole north

[1] Torabi, Akbar. *History of Religions,* 2nd ed, Eqbal Press, Chapter 1, Hinduism, p 101 and Chapter 2, Buddhism, p 137

[2] Bukhart, Titus. *The Holy Art,* Trans. Jalal Sattari,Tehran:1984, p 17

[3] Kashefi, “A Brief Look on the Art of Indian Painting and Its Mystical Ideology”, p 25

Indian territory. After the conquest of Delhi, he gave over the whole territory to kutub-ud-din Ibek and returned to Ghaznei. Ibek started to spread his dominance over the eastern part of India, Bihar, and Bengal; and right after the murder of Mohammad Ghori, he took the title of Sultan Thus, he established an independent Islamic State in Indian Peninsula in 1206 A.D.[1]

The kings who ruled Delhi from Ibek's era (1206 A.D.) up to Zahir-al-din Babur's (1526 A.D) in India and Pakistan were known as Delhi Sultans and their era is called "Sultanat Period" or "Period before Timurian". In this era which lasted for 330 years, several dynasties of the sultans came to power, chronologically including: Ghulaman Dynasty (Mamlookan) (1206-1290 A.D), Khalji Dynasty (1290-1320A.D), Tughlagh Dynasty (1320-1414 A.D), Seyyed Dynasty (1414-1451 A.D), and Valoodian (1451-1526 A.D).

Apart from these dynasties, some small governments were established within these dynasties due to the weakness of central government. For example, local east India sultans and Amirs established an independent state in Jaunpur due to the weakness of Delhi's Tughlagh sultans by the constant attacks of Timurian.

During this dynasty, Persian language and literature prevailed in Jaunpur and it came to be known as Shiraz of Isfahan. In the early 15th century A.D. up to 16th century, another ruling family emerged in Gujarat who governed there through gaining independence.

The last king of this dynasty, Muzaffar Shah, was defeated by Akbar's military assaults in 1572 A.D. The sultan's government had great influence on spreading the culture and art of Iran. Prevalence and credibility of Persian language and literature was so influential that one of the sultans of this period, Ghiyas-uddin bin sikandar the king of Bengal (died in 1409A.D) invited the most famous Persian poet, Hafiz, to India but it was failed due to his fear of sea journey, instead he dispatched a thanking poem.

This period witnessed the intermingling of the cultures of Iran and India. Indian religious and epic books were written in Persian letters. Some of the manuscripts from Laur Chanda were written in Persian letters. The book had been written in the court of Delhi

[1] Yektaee, *Introduction of Iranian and Islamic Culture and Civilization to India and Pakistan, p 28*

Sultans from 1525 to 1549 A.D.[1] During Khalji Sultanate in 1440 A.D. one manuscript of Kalpasutra was written and illustrated in paper and it is currently preserved in Delhi Museum. The text of this book was written in gold on a red background. This book depicts the impact of Indian culture and literature on Delhi sultans. In the capital of Sharghiyeh Dynasty, Junpur, another magnificent and superb manuscript of Kalpasutra was illustrated in 1465A.D. The paintings of this manuscript differ from the paintings of the eastern India style. Some of the figures are similar to the 1431 A.D. Kalpasutra, Malwa. The figures are more harsh and soulless than the East Indian paintings. From Khalji's Malwa, a manuscript was found; and it shows the influence of Iranian culture and art in India. The book is a manuscript of Saadi's Boostan which is kept in the museum of New Delhi.

The book was prepared by Haji Mahmood Naghash and Shahsavar Kateb for Nadir Shah (1500-1510 A.D). Haji Mahmood migrated to Malwa due to the occupation of Herat by Sheibak Khan Uzbek. The book was written in fine calligraphy but the paintings were awkwardly imitated from the paintings of Herat style.

The book which is deemed to be written during the reign of Nadir Shah is "Nemat nameh" which is currently kept in India Office Library in London. In one of the pages of this book the date of 1579 A.D was recorded; and it is probably considered to be recorded by a librarian. Some of the researchers of painting history believe that it was written after 1569 A.D. The influences of these two differing styles can be detected in the paintings of this book: Shiraz school and the east India paintings.

The influences of Shiraz school in this manuscript can be seen in the dotted backgrounds of bushes, plants, and circular clouds in Mohammad Asefi's book called *Jamal va Jalal* (1502 or 1503A.D) kept in Sweden's Uppsala University. The images are painted carelessly; that is why the belief of those who think that this was painted in Iran is refuted.

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[1] Nehru, Jawaherlal. *Kashf-ul-Hend*, Trans. Mahmud Tafazoli, Vol. 1, Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1972, p 257

The influences of the East India painting style especially Malwa's Kalpasutra can be recognized in women's complexions. However, none of the natural landscape paintings of this book show any signs of Shiraz or India natural landscape imitation.

One of the most precious manuscripts which was prepared and illustrated in the 15th century A.D. is the manuscript of Amir Khosrow Dehlavi's Divan which is currently kept in Friar Chamber of Washington. It was long believed that this manuscript was prepared in the school of Injovi Shiraz in 14th century A.D.but presently it is affirmed that paintings of this book are drawn in India. The thing which misleads the art specialists in determining the prepared place of the book is the fact that these paintings are the imitations of Safavid era's paintings. For example, the manner of page embellishments, placement of poems within frame, and the overall state of the scenes are very similar to the 14th century Shiraz manuscripts. Although nowadays the original place of these paintings is attributed to India due to native Indian painting characteristics including flowers, plants, and architectural factors, however, determining the real place of these painting is very difficult.

One of *the* other Iranian books which was prepared and illustrated during this period is *sikandar Namah*. One of the paintings of this book depicts a scene in which a physician is on the deathbed of an ailing sultan. This painting reveals the tremendous influence of Iranian paintings; and it is hard to attribute them to Indian artists. The influence becomes more transparent when it is compared to an image from Hariri's *Maghamat* in 1429A.D.

In these paintings, the faces, turbans, and plant images on clothes are similar to each other that one will believe that the drawings in this book were developed in India, either by an Iranian or by an Indian artist.

The copy of the manuscript of Mahapurana is one of the last examples of Indian drawing, in the era before the Barber era that was developed in 1541 A.D, in the year when Sher Shah defeated Humayun in Palam which is an area out of the present Delhi.

The study of the Indian painting before the era of Baburi, indicates that the influence of Iranian painters and their immigration to India did not happen only in the Babur is dynasty, it happened before that era as well.[1]

2-4 -The Art of Painting in the Time of Timurids in India (1526-1858 A.D)

Luxurious artistic works in India since 16th century up to late 18th century were mostly for material benefits. Most beautiful works of this kind were produced in workshops of His Majesty under direct supervision of the Emperor.[2]

With the support of Timurid court, an absolutely different style of book-decoration appeared in India in which Iranian miniature styles of 9th and 15th centuries were combined with local painting traditions and European traditions in form of printed works. As a result of trading overseas with West during 10th-15th centuries, these printed works entered India. Like painting style of Ottoman period, nature and portrait became two apparent features in painting style of Timurids in India and these two elements emerged enough in picturing history of that period and also in decorations prepared for followers of His Majesty since late 16th to late 17th centuries. Timurid emperors of India provided affluent libraries and established workshops in those libraries where book-decoration went on.

Babur (kingdom 1526-1530 AD), founder of this dynasty was himself an outstanding scholar and man of books. In 1528 AD a collection of poems appeared in his mother tongue, Turkish or Chaghatai Turkish, which included his interpretations.[3]

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[1] Aftab, Asghar. *Persian Chronicle Writing in India and Pakistan,* Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Republic of Iran House of Culture, 1986, pp 4-6

[2] Markel, Stephen. "Fit for an Emperor: Inscribed Works of Decorative Art Acquired by the Great Mughal."Orientations 21/8(August 1990):p 22

[3] Blair, Sheila and Bloom, Jonathan, *Islamic Art and Architecture (2) (1250-1800).* Trans. Dr. Ya'qub Azhand, Tehran: Farhangestan Honar Press, 1st ed., 2003, p 748

His autobiography is one of the richest works of this kind and in his grandson, Akbar's time it was counted among pictured general texts.[1]

Paintings remained from Humayun's period (kingdom 1530-1556 AD) display great inspiration of these works by Iranian samples because they had been worked on by Iranian masters. In 1540 A.D Humayun was sent on exile by Sher Shah Suri and sought refuge in court of Safavid King Tahmasb I; King Tahmasb had left supporting painting in this time. In 1555 A.D when Humayun came to throne, Iranian painters like Abd-al -samad and Mir Seyyed Ali created new cannon of painting workshop in Delhi and popularized the most modern book-decoration developments of Tabriz, Qazvin and Bukhara in India.

Sudden death of Humayun soon after taking back kingdom in Delhi caused the distinguished Mongolian painting style to hinder until the time of Akbar (kingdom 1556-1605 AD). Then Akbar provided a significant workshop and followed Humayun's career in Delhi, Fatehpur Sikri (1569-85 A.D) and Lahore (1585-98 A.D). At the end of Akbar's kingdom, there were almost 100 artists at the court of His Majesty.

Akbar was very much interested in painting and had apprenticed Mir Seyyed Ali and Abd-al-samad to learn painting.[2] This interest in painting is shown in a work in which young Akbar is giving a painting to his father, Humayun. (Appendix, figure 7)[3]In another work, the young prince is sitting in a palace and a man with Iranian turban is sitting in front of him who is probably the painter himself; besides the man there is brush and paper and on the paper these terms are seen "Allaho Akbar, Al'abd Sharp-Brushed Abd-al-samad". In the main components of this work, there are features of Tabriz style in which

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[1] Blair and Bloom, *Islamic Art and Architecture (2) (1250-1800)*, p 752

[2] Seyller, John. "Scribal Notes on Mughal Manuscript Illustrations, ''Artibus Asia 48(1987): pp 247-77

[3] Gulshan Album, Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library. See Lawrence Bunion, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, Persian Miniature Painting (Oxford, 1933), no. 230, pl. CIV; SPA, PI, 912; Encyclopedia Iranica, S.V. "Abd-al-Samad''

Abd-al-samad had been educated. It is similar to "Kabuse Zahhak" painting in Shahnameh of King Tahmasb which belonged to 25 years earlier. (Appendix, figure 8)

This painting differs from other Iranian works in that it includes sculptures wearing special hats of Timurids. These hats were popularized by Humayun in 1533 AD. Most efforts to decide on the date of this painting reveal that since it presents Akbar in his youth, it can go back to a time before Humayun's death in 1556 AD. The equivocal term "Allaho Akbar" was added later because Prince Muhammad had not used the name Akbar by the time he came to throne. Of course this is an unlikely interpretation because it necessitates that Abd-al-samad painted an event which had not happened yet and most probably this painting was produced in the first decade of King Akbar's rule since it refers to the mentioned event. This painting was an artistic provision and visually was similar to the scripture on the wall behind the ruined palace in Khamse Nezami which belonged to King Tahmasb’s (Appendix, Figure 9) time and drove one's attention towards artistic excellence and skill of the artist. Paintings of Abd-al-samad show some features of Timurids in India with Iranian origin.

Specific images of Humayun, Akbar and Abd-al-samad revealed interests in painting portraits and this interest reached its highest in 17th century. (Appendix, Figure 10).[1]

The first royal work in Akbar's painting workshop which had not been altered is Persian script of Kelileh and Demneh, Tales of Animals, by Anvar Soheili which goes back to 23rd, Sep. 1570 A.D. [2]

This work (21×33 cm) that has 27 scenes shows the same human and animal types, scenery and architecture of big pieces of Hamze Nameh. Paintings of Anvar Soheili display the gradually increasing significance of painting in the time of Akbar. Paintings of previous scripts corresponded traditional sizing and were limited to the framework of

[1]. Cleveland Museum of Art, 62.279, The Major study of the Tutinama is Pramod Ghandra, The Tuti- Nama of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Origins of Mughal Painting (Graz,1976),but the close examination of the Paintings by John Seyller, Ars Orientalis (forthcoming), has forced a reevaluation of the date of the original manuscript and its history.

[2]. University of London, school of Oriental and African Studies Library, MS. 10102; see Welch, India: Art and Culture, no. 93; Jeremiah P. Losty, The Art of the Book in India (London, 1982), no. 57

text whereas succeeding works like "The Dying Monkey"(Appendix, figure 11) because of sympathizing monkeys and Khurasan Massacre have exceeded the margins and surrounded the text and have moved into frame along with two texts. Scenes of the wild, due to sense of sympathy and increasing realism are considerable and have mild coloring and are brighter than wavy colors of traditional Iranian painting. These paintings are attributed to different painters and there are no attribution notes to specific painters in the margins; this was popularized in the paintings after Timurids of India and seems that had been started around 1580 AD by Darab Nameh.[1]

Another script which was worked in the royal workshop near the time of Anvar Soheili is a script of Quran.[2] It is the only known Quran which was written for Akbar and its rich use of gold reveals that it was a kingly script. In the final page it says that: "This Quran was prepared by Habbat Allah Al-Husseini in 1573-74 AD in Lahore for Sultan (Akbar)". There are 17 lines on every royal page (22×33 cm) in different forms surrounded by cloud-like margins. The first, middle and the last lines are in Mohaghagh style in frequent blue and gold colors on a blue background. There is also Naskh writing style among them which is placed among golden frames at the top. Titles of verses (Surats) are on a gold background like Bismillah at the bottom. At the beginning of Maryam (S) Surat there is a rich gold work applied which is similar to Persian works of that time. But its feature is mixture and combination of purple, orange and green colors.

After completion of the huge project Hamzeh Nameh, artist of royal workshop worked on different scripts. Some of these scripts were translations of Hindu into Persian, the language of court. For example, a pictorial script of Razm Nameh was worked on which there was Persian translation of Mahabharata between 1582 and 1586 A.D.[3]

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1 .London, British Library, or. 4615; see losty, Art of the Book in India, no. 59. The manuscript is undated, but its 157 Paintings are usually dated ca. 1580

2 .London, British Library, Add, 18497; see Losty, Art of the Book in India, no. 53; Brand and Lowry, Akbar's India, no. 21

3 . Jaipur, Maharaja Sawai Man SinghII Museum, MS. AG. 1683-1850

Scripts which were prepared in 1590/1000 are all in developed form of painting in the time of Timurids in India which compound a harmonious mixture of Iranian, Indian and European elements. The art of book-decoration is considered as a significant art in the time of Timurids of India as it was in the period of Safavids in Iran. Its patterns have been used in other artistic fields of royal workshop. A network of royal workshops produced everything including coins and furniture of royal houses. Akbar in 1562-63 AD popularized gold coins in India after a hundred-year interval. Coin workshop was established again in 1577A.D and Abd-al-samad was appointed head of coin workshop in Fatehpur- Sikri. Rectangular coins were popularized and within two years gave way to circular coins (Appendix, figure 12) which included the words of Shahadat (faith) and name of Emperor and on the other side it had the name of coin workshop and date of coining. At last skilled engravers produced molds even with engraved pieces of poems on them for gold coining. Excellent bold words with precise cutting of letters in harmoniously revealed artistic talent of these coin workers.[1]

Some of the workshops which were part of Emperor's affluent property produced textile, decorative furniture, carpet, etc. Carpet weaving was not an ethnic art in India because its humid weather made the woolen surface of carpets unusable and on the other side there was no need for carpeting house floors. Therefore, Iranian and Middle Eastern carpet weaving were introduced to India only in the time of Timurids of India. The first documentary date of carpet weaving and its popularity in India goes back to the time of Akbar in which most probably weavers were brought from Herat to India. One of the oldest carpets of Timurids in India is a carpet with patterns of animals on a red background.(Appendix ,figure 13) This coarse carpet which had been woven by cotton strings in length and wool strings in width has almost six knots in every square cm. Instead of a general pattern, it had been composed of many patterns and different elements like six-headed bird and Rakhpoush of leopard with threatening claws which are

[1] .Brand and Lowry, Akbar’s India,nos77-9 and pp 119-120

clasping Eslimis. This carpet in terms of technical similarity and style reminds royal carpets of Lahore which were woven in 11^{th} and 12^{th} centuries.[1]

Salim, Akbar's son (who later came to the throne with the name of Jahangir) was another passionate supporter of arts and book-decoration in late 16^{th} century. According to Salim's records, Agha Reza, Iranian painter came to his service after migration to India and this was before King's son, Abolhasan was born.[2]

Interest in painting portraits sustained in whole period of Jahangir's kingdom and there was also a keen interest in European techniques and patterns. The English visited Timurid court in India frequently after 1600/1009. In 1600/1009 Eastern India Company received a certificate and English samples became generalized and became the first samples of portraits in court of Timurids in India. Painting of Bichiter which shows that Jahangir respects a Sufi Sheikh more than kings is taken from a work which is now in San Petersburg. (Appendix, figure 14)This work shows the Emperor giving a book to old Sheikh Hassan, an offspring of Mo'ineddin Choshti whose shrine is in Ajmar where Jahangir lived in 1613-1616 A.D. There are three men beneath them on the left side. These three men are the Turk Sultan (this image seems to be a piece of European style rather than Ottoman style), James I, the English King (this image has been derived from the portrait by John De Critz and most probably was given to Timurid court as a gift in Sir Thomas Roe's trip to this court) and the third one displays a Hindu who carries a portrait of his own. This third small portrait seems to be painter's own portrait who was one of the famous artists.

These portraits display visual dignity of paintings in Timurid period of India. A number of patterns like green grey-like color, glass clock and circle of light have been derived from European elements of painting. This painting is a symbol which shows that Emperor

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[1] . Daniel Walker, “Classical Indian Rugs,’’ Hali 4 (1982): 252-6

[2] . Tuzuk-I Jahangiri, Vol. II, p.20, Cited in Beach, “Aqa Riza,’’ Grand Mughal, p 92

counted spiritual life superior to material life and displays connection of power in Mughal dynasties with Sufi Tariqats.[1]

Descriptive text of previous portraits which showed court members and contemporary events gave way to single mysterious portraits in the second period of Jahangir's kingdom, single portraits which symbols like property and power differentiated them from each other. In another engraved portrait in San Petersburg there is an imaginary meeting between Jahangir and Abbas I.[2]

Every pattern which appeared in Mughalian court in Northern India was imitated in other parts of the country especially in Deccan where a separated style parallel to this one had been created. Some of the works which are called Deccani are independent single portraits which are decorative but some Deccani works unlike Mughalian works have recorded historical events in a realistically.[3]

Most consideration in Jahangir's time (1628-58A.D) was paid to architects, and length and width of painting workshops decreased in comparison to workshops in the time of Akbar.

One of the pieces in early stages of King Jahan's time is well-known as "Minito". The name is taken from the name of its owner, Earl Minito, governor of whole India 1807-1813A.D.[4]

Most beautiful paintings of King Jahan's time could be seen in a royal collection called royal collection Padshah Nameh. This inclusive collection which includes records from the early events of King Jahan's ruling decade and 44 full-page paintings was produced by Muhammad Amin Mashhadi in 1656A.D. Many other paintings were also prepared

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[1] . Ettinghausen, Richard. "The Emperor's Choice," De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Ervin Ponofsky, ed. Milard Meiss (New York,1961), pp 98-120

[2] . Washington, DC, Freer Gallery of Art, 42, 16; Beach, Imperial Image, no. 17c

[3] . Mark Zebrowski, Deccani Painting (London, 1983), no. 59; Welch, India, no. 195

[4] . The Minto Album is divided between the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IM.8-1925 to 28-1925), and the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (MS. 7)

for the following collection which was left unfinished probably because of deposition of the Emperor in 1658A.D but the text's complicated history and its paintings could be studied and discussed a lot. Paintings, like the text focus on formal and contemporary situations and some scenes like Belchand on page 43_7 (i.e. Jahangir's wish for success of his son Khorram [the next King Jahan] in his first march) (Appendix, figure 15) is one of the formal scenes of court in which the Emperor has been portrayed as a superior being: he is shown in portrait with a circle of light on a bed higher than other court members with an empty place on the bed below him. All faces are in portrait form and the painting's realism is apparent from labels of court members.

Some parts have been worked on deer skin and soft coal powder has been spread on them. Recording these formal scenes have been made by sustainability and styled structure but in comparison to them, war scenes show much more technical development in displaying scenes and people. The artists have been successful in avoiding frequent use of offensive scenes of previous works and in controlling scenes of retreat with colorful tools and placing bodies in distances in order to show them on the background. The script of Padshah Nameh in Windsor Castle is the last magnificent work provided for Timurid Emperors of India. Portraying in this work is in its culmination and intensive Indian and European elements have been combined in a harmonious form.[1]

The golden age of artistic creation came to end in time of Aurangzeb (kingdom 1658-1707) and he put aside supporting arts. Book-decoration reached a technical and stylistic point. These happened because artists avoided realism and worked on very traditional concepts of compounds and created simple spiritless portraits. In 1680A.D. when this religious ruler made music and painting forbidden in the court, many artists of Timurid time in India went to serve state governors and aristocrats. Drawing natural elements and plants and flowers of King Jahan's time became a specific style and objects received more decorative attitude rather than functional. Valuable stones became carved and varnished jewels and were decorated with other fine stones and jadeite. Daggers and their sheaths (Appendix, figure 16) were decorated very much. Their blades were made of

[1] . Blair and Bloom, *Islamic Art and Architecture (2) (1250-1800)*, pp 763-764

stainless steel and decorated by gold colors. Their handles were made of jadeite or marble decorated by stones or diamonds. Their sheaths were made of velvet embroidered by gold and other jewels.

European craftsmen brought new decorative techniques to India. European goldsmiths like Augustine Bordoee started working in the court of Timurids in India and most probably they entered new techniques like enamel-work into Timurid court of India. One of the early significant works is a golden ring with stones and white, blue, jadeite green and black enamel-work on it.[1]This ring could belong to early 17th century because its shape is similar to jadeite ring of Jahangir.[2]

Late paintings of 17th century reveal that fabrics with golden background had been used a lot on clothes and decorations. Dating clothes in court stores were made according to entrance date of these clothes and the dates were mostly labeled on them along with other information. These precious textiles were sometimes used for decoration. According to Francois Bernier who accompanied Aurangzeb from Delhi to Lahore and Kashmir, royal houses were great and vast tents and cottages some of which were two-storied. These tents or cottages were made in square fields. Walls on the outside were red. It was the royal color of the court and in the inside walls were decorated with colored cotton fabric with patterns of flowers and vases on them.[3]

Princes and supporters either Muslim or Hindu in the states followed the court in majestic celebrations. Princes of Rajput in Anbar and Jaipur of Rajasthan were at the service of Timurids of India. They followed Timurid life style and made stores and workshops where a lot of cotton fabric for tents were made. These fabrics were woven by silk and

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[1] . London, Victoria and Albert Museum, I. M. 207-1920; see Indian Heritage, no. 303, and Welch, India, no. 129

[2] . London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1023-1871; see Indian Heritage, no. 355

[3] . Bernier, Francois, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, Trans. A. Constable(London,1891,reprint New Delhi,1968),p.360,cited in Indian Heritage, p79

golden strings netted with velvet and decorated and painted with gum and gold strings in these workshops in 17th or 18th centuries.[1]

Painting bloomed in the governments which followed Timurids after death of Aurangzeb in 1707A.D. in Deccan, Bengal and Ode. After the invasion of Nader to India in 1739A.D. royal treasures including some of most beautiful royal scripts such as Margha' Golshan were taken to Iran and lots of artists of royalty went to states to find jobs, however royal workshop did not disappear completely, because in the meantime of Timurid Empire revival in early 19th century the remains of royal workshop were collected in Delhi and some of magnificent works were created. Lots of these works were scripts of King Jahan's ruling history and in this time previous scripts of this history and also one of the scripts of Baburnameh which had been produced for Akbar were repaired as well as the script of Padshah Nameh in the palace of Windsor. These scripts were apparently produced for Europeans who were interested in glory of Timurid government in India and also in its buildings. Paintings of 19th century Padshah Nameh pictured great architectural works of King Jahan like The Taj Mahal and Red Castle and the following works of this period like Amal Saleh pictured "History of King Jahan" written by Muhammad Saleh Kanbavi of Lahore. Even Europeans who admired historical works of Timurid period in India have been pictured.[2]

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[1] . See Indian Heritage, nos. 207-8

[2] . Nineteenth – century copies of the Padshahnama include London, British Library, Add. 20734, and Patna, Khudabakhsh Library; see Losty, Art of the Book in India, no. 107, The copy of the Amal-Salih Done ca. 1830 is in the British Library (Or.2157); See Losty, no. 17 .

3- Introduction

Timuri era has unique aspects and characteristics in the overall history of Indian subcontinent. Timuri Empire had a great contribution in the development and progress of architecture in India, and even excelled other preceding empires. If we want to investigate the causes of architectural and technical advancement in the early decades of Timuri Empire, we come to know that this is highly unlikely to happen in the history of other countries. Six emperors of one dynasty played a unique and crucial role in the development of architecture. In fact they include: Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah-i-Jahan, and Aurangzeb. It is important to bear in mind that as soon as these kings maintained political stability, they bent a good portion of their wealth and effort in the development of different arts including architecture. Undoubtedly these kings left a legacy of their tastes in their constructions. It seems that Timuri architectural style remained the same starting from its founder Baber (1526 – 1530) up to Aurangzeb's period (1658 – 1707). The constructions of this era can be divided into two periods in terms of construction materials: the first period involves the monuments constructed with red brick like the buildings in Akbar's reign. The second period involves constructions with marble like the buildings in Shah Jahanan's reign.

3-1- Historical Relationship between Iran and Northern India

During the centuries or perhaps millenniums, India has been the inseparable part of the ancient east stretching from Mediterranean region to Ganges. In this ancient world, a sort of common culture was prevalent. Latest archaeological discoveries points to the similarities of Sush and Mesopotamian civilization with the fourth to second millennium civilizations in Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro in Sind Valley, Baluchistan, and the south east of Afghanistan. Arian's immigration (Indo-Iranians) to Punjab in the second millennium B.C is still the main source of connection between Iran and India.

This relationship started after the conquest of Sind Valley by Akamenids in the fourth century B.C. It was seized by Xeres (529 – 558 B.C) and maintained by Darius. Thus, Bacteria (Balkh), Kapisa, Gandra (Kandahar), Punjab, and Sind were brought under great king's territories. Alexander the great, also claimed the ownership of these territories

after his invasion of India (325 – 327B.C) since they were dominated by Iranian kings. After his death, a friendly relationship was maintained between Solokian and Maurya emperors who had extended their realm up to the southern part of Hindokush. This mutual friendly relationship is proved by Solokus's ambassador, Megasthenes, residing in Pataliputra in 297 to 304 B.C. This interaction also involved the realm of art.

The relationship was still maintained in the eastern part of Iranian plateau after the collapse of Solokis. But it was not that much friendly due to invasion of Sind in 206 B.C by Antiokhus III, and Demetrius and Melinda's conquests in the second century B.C. India was dominated by Greek-Balkhi and Indo-Greek dynasties for about 200 years in the middle of the third century. It was undoubtedly paved the way for the introduction of Helenian culture in India.

Iran-India relationship was continued after the emergence of Sassanid dynasty, and involved different aspects. After the occupation of Bakteria by Ardeshir I (226 – 241B.C), Kushanian withdrew to the southern part of Hindokush, and recognized Sassanid's dominance. Accordingly, this region was influenced by Sassanid culture, which can be seen in the art of the southeastern part of India (in Bamiyan Buddhist – Iranian style).

Moreover, other factors impacted Indo-Iranian relationship. The discoveries in the regions like Taksila and Bigram reveal the trade ties between the northeastern India i.e. Kapisa and the western Asia before the commencement of the first century A.D. The territories which were under dominance of Iran, and they stretched along the Sind River up to Balkh, and ultimately connected to the famous Silk Road connecting China to Iran, and later Mediterranean region and beyond. Even India was connected to Iranian borders through marine routes.[1]

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[1] . Hallide, Madlin and Gotez, Hermann. *Indian and Iranian Art and India and Islam* .Trans. Dr. Ya'qub Azhand, Tehran: Mowla Press, 2nd ed, 2006, pp 5-8

3-2- Architecture during Khalji Dynasty (1290 – 1320)

In 1290A.D. Moazzezi dynasty was replaced by Khalji dynasty who was the descendents of Kutub-ud-din Ibek. The great figure of the second round of Delhi Sultanate was Alaeddin Muhammad (reigned from 1296 to 1313A.D) who adopted the name of Eiskandar Sani, and raised the idea of creating a vast empire.[1] For defending Mughal invasions, he erected a new city called Sir in the northeastern part of Lalkut. He planned to develop Ghovat-al-Islam Mosque threefold, but he could only construct the foundation; and the Alayee Minaret which was supposed to be 500 feet high, never exceeded its first spiraling staircase. Only the southern arch and the gate, that is, Alayee Gate were completed. It is a cubic building which has four-entrée short domes, real and false windows, red sandstone walls ornamented with Islamic and Hindu designs; the frames made up of white, yellow, and black marble or blue shale; flowered arcs and pillars. Khezerkhan, Alaeddin’s son, erected a shrine for a renowned Sufi Nezameddin Ouliya. It was turned into Jamatkhane during Firuz Shah III of Tughlagh dynasty by developing two similar aisles. Most of the local buildings of this era were made up of disposable Indian raw materials. Only some of them enjoyed artistic features such as Anhilvara mosques (currently Patan 1305A.D), Kambay (1314A.D), Brooch in Gujarat, and other mosques in Doulatabad and Deccan (1315A.D).

3-3 -Architecture in Tughalaghi Dynasty Period (1320 – 1414)

Khaljis' reign was weakend after the death of Alaeddin, and Tughalaghis replaced them as the third group of Delhi Sultanate. Tughalaghis were the descendants of Ghazi Malek Tughalagh who was a Turkish-Indian commander and Khaljis' appointed ruler in Multan from 1305 A.D. onward. They established a sovereign and innovative sultanate in Delhi. In addition to constructing three cities including Tughlaghabad, Jahanpanah, and Firozabad, they created a diverse and magnificent architecture in Delhi, Multan, and Punjab.[2]The first Tughalaghi architectural constructions were not attempted in Delhi but

[1] . Blair and Bloom, *Islamic Art and Architecture (2) (1250-1800)*, p 390

[2] . Hallide and Gotez, *Indian and Iranian Art and India and Islam*, pp 55-56

in Multan which is currently in Pakistan. This was a famous Sufi's shrine called Rokne Aalam in Multan (1320A.D). Ghazi Malek Tughlagh erected it for him at the tome of his coming to power.[1]

Ghazi Mohammad Tughlagh (1320 – 1325A.D) who adopted the name of Ghiyaseddin employed a great number of Hindus in government and army; it had a significant impact on the Tughlaghi culture. He ordered the construction of the city of Tughlagh in which the court, army, and governmental affairs were established. The city was 120 hectares, and it was surrounded by stone walls, and had 13 gates. The court was situated in the southwestern part, and strong forts were on the eastern part. A road connected the main area to a cemetery and a Madrasa.

Mohammad bin Toghlagh (1325 –1351 A.D) succeeded Ghiyaseddin. In the vicinity of Tughlaghabad, he erected a palace called Adel-Abad, but he left there a transferred the capital to Dolatabad in central India. He built walls around it and named it Jahanpanah.[2] In 1327 A.D. he transferred his capital to Deogiri, the new Dolatabad; in order have control over the north and south. In 1332 A.D. he returned to Delhi, and connected Lalkut and Siri to Jahanpana, and erected a palace called Bijai Mondal. Through a staircase it was connected to the upper floor specified for women. The only remaining thing about the palace was stoned floor.[3]

Firuz Shah III Tughlagh (1351 – 1388 A.D) succeeded Mottaghi Muhammad. He was one of the rulers who had a long term reign in this dynasty; it might be because of designating the governmental affairs to able ministers. It is said that he himself designed some of the buildings. In 1356 A.D. he protected Punjab against the northeastern attacks,

[1] .Blair,Sheila S. “The Octagonal Pavilion at Natanz: A Reexamination of Early Islamic Architecture in Iran,” Mugarnas I (1983): 69-94

[2] . Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie H.Shokoohy, Hisar-I Firuza: Sultanate and Early Islamic Architecture in the District of Hisar, India (London, 1988)

[3] . Hallide and Gotez, *Indian and Iranian Art and India and Islam,* p 57

and constructed the city of Hesar Firuze which is currently called Hesar in the state of Hariana. He also founded and erected numerous cities, colonies, and villages including Javenpur, Shahpur, Hesar, and Dehulka. He constructed garden palaces and hunting sanctuaries around Delhi like Kutilaye Firus Shah, Huz Khas, Bouli Bakhtiyari, Kamahal, and Kushke Shikar.

All were made up of stone pebbles and mortar, and they were covered by chalk. In comparison to the works prior to Firuz Shah, the forms and frameworks are more subtle and magnificent.[1]Tughlaghi architecture is the first Islamic-Indian style which implements local elements like foundations, pillars, and triangle pedestals as well as the techniques like controlling the bath by water. All were mingled with the Islamic architectural style like vaults and domes. This innovative period came to an end with the death of Firuz Shah in 1388 A.D. Domestic wars among those had claim for power lasted for decades, which in turn was curtailed by the invasion of Timur in 1398 A.D. He plundered Delhi then.

Timur supported the brilliant architectural works after the invasion of Delhi, and the collapse of Tughlaghi dynasty was restricted to the fourth and fifth Delhi Sultanate. Delhi city gained somewhat its magnificence during Seyyed dynasty (1414 – 1451 A.D), and it was revived greatly by Lodi dynasty (1451 – 1526 A.D). A couple of mosques and domed shrines were erected. The style of constructing a big Jamea Masjid which was used to be common in previous sultanate was replaced by new and smaller mosques consisting of one carpet covering, 3 or 5 entrances, and a dome on the wall facing Kiblah. The first eminent example of such mosque was Bara Gonbad Mosque which was built by Sekandar Lodi in 1494 A.D. It had an entrance from his garden which was once the Lodi dynasty cemetery. It was ornamented by colorful stones and tablets. The Lodi buildings were the sources of inspiration for the following supports such as Sur and Timurian in 16th century. [2]

[1] . Hallide and Gotez, *Indian and Iranian Art and India and Islam, p 58*

[2] . Blair and Bloom, *Islamic Art and Architecture (2) (1250-1800)*, p 397

3-4 -Seyyed, Lodi, and Sur Dynasties (1451 – 1526)

Seyyed dynasty (1414 – 1451 A.D), and particularly Lodi dynasty in Delhi (1451 – 1526 A.D) started their sultanates in Delhi and Punjab as inferiors to central Asian Timurian. They did not follow Tughlaghi art, and constructed their mosques and tombs with vertical walls and tall domes. They decorated their works with deeply carved central Asian tablets and painted acrography. They also enriched them by mingle of tiles, wall concaves, irregularly shaped indentation. Khan Jahan Talangani's tomb constructed in 1372 A.D was set as an example. It had a staircase, octagon floor, and it was surrounded by an open columniation. There was a spoon-carved dome inside, and chatris outside. Indian pastons and colum heads, rafbands, horseshoe durnah, roofs, balconies, and chatrises were the inseparable parts of the most buildings.

Seyyed dynasty buildings were constructed only in Delhi (Mobarakpur city) as well as Kheirpur tombs (Lodi Gardens). Lodi dynasty extending their territories to Bengal border, and annexing central India to their kingdom, constructed numerous buildings. Those which are in Delhi include: Sekandar Lodi shrine, a small and beautiful mosque in Kheirpur in 1494 A.D.built by Abu Amjad, Moutka in Seri, and other buildings in Mehr Ola and Seri. Other constructions of Lodi period can be seen in Sarhend, Sekendra, Agra, Dehulpur, and Sambal.

Lodi architectural style remained intact during the first Mughal conquests of Babur (1526 – 1530 A.D) and Humayun (1530 – 1540 A.D) in the northern India; especially in the construction of Jamali mosque and Molana Jamal Khan's small and beautiful shrine in Mehr Ola. This style went through a glorious revival during Sur dynasty period in Pattan (1540 – 1554 A.D) prior to its removal by Mogul architectural style in 1554 to 1575 A.D. Sher Shah erected several cities and palaces following the style of Pattan in Bihar, and Kanuj, Shirgah, and Punjab. He also erected some buildings in Mongir, Patna, Jinpur, Sasaram, Rajgara, and Merta. The most famous ones include Argh Shahi Puranaghila in Delhi, the magnificent mosque of Ghilakohne, city gates of Laal Darvaza, and the spectacular tombs of Sher Shah and his family members in Sasaram and Jainpur. The

thick walls and strong fortress of Puranaghila (Puran castle) were ornamented by red, yellow, black, and white sand stones in the manner of Tughlaghi period and Suri style. Sher Shah's tomb in Sasaram is a huge dome on octagon pillars. There is a man-made lake in the center connected to a road. The tomb was once ornamented by green, yellow, and blue tiles. The tomb of his successor, Eslam Shah (Salim) was never completed. The tombs of Sher Shah's relatives in Jinpur are very plain. One of the well-known buildings of Suri era was the tomb and mosque of Isa khan (1547 A.D) in the vicinity of Nezameddin (Delhi) and tomb of its ruler Fatih Jang (1547 A.D) in Alwar. Ola is octagonal and situated in the middle of an octagonal garden. The second one is a cubic dome surrounded by two upper open floors.[1]

3-5- Bahmani Dynasty

One of the late established sultanates was Bahmani dynasty (1527 – 1347A.D) emerging from the north of Deccan subcontinent. The founder of this dynasty, Hassan Kongo, adopted the name of Bahman Shah, and transferred the capital from Dolatabad to Golbarga. Bahmani encounters with the two main governments of India in the south of Deccan i.e. Varnagal and Vijaynagara depicted them as Islamic Mujahids. They were the first dynasty exchanging ambassadors with Ottomans. They had systematic ruling government, and they chose their human resources from Turks, Iranians, and Arabs. Their courts were the epicenters of knowledge and culture, and they had superb architectural style.[2] Bahmanis were in search of specific style for their art, and employed contemporary Iranian art. Their art was mixed with and affected by Indian style due to social factors like royal women, elites, converted Hindus, inferiors, and mercenaries. Bahmani sultans stabilized their dominance in their kingdoms by constructing a network

1 . Hallide and Gotez, *Indian and Iranian Art and India and Islam*, pp59-61

2 . Merklinger,Elizabet S. Indian Islamic Architecture: The Deccan 1347-1686(Warminster,Wilts,1981)and " Gulbarga,'' Marg 37(1986):27-39.see also George Michell and Richard Gaton,Firuzabad:palace City of the Deccan (oxford , 1992) .

of strong fortresses inspired by the techniques employed in the southwest Asia during the crusades.[1]The most important remaining construction is Golbarga Jamea Masjid. (Appendix, figure 17) According to its tablet inscription, it was built by Rafi bin Shams Mansour Ghazvini in 1367 A.D during the reign of Mohammad I. It was built in the area 66 in 53 meters; a rare example of a mosque without a courtyard. It is a rectangular-ceiling mosque with four big domes on its four angles. These domes are connected through Tovize vaults which are connected in turn to pillared saloon in the middle which is covered with 75 domes. The fourteenth century Iranian buildings such as Jamea Masjid of Abarghoo make use of Tovize vaults. These kinds of extraordinary vaults might be either attributed to its Iranian sponsors or Iranian constructors. Bahmani sultans' tombs in Golbarga were also impacted by Tughlghi architectural style either in the ruined buildings of Dolatabad or buildings in Delhi.[2]

3-6 - Timuri Dynasty

In 1370 A.D Ilkhanids dynasty in Iran was removed, but a new power merging from central Asia cast a heavy shadow over the Genghis Khan's descendants in Eurasia. Tuimur, who is known as Temarlane (the lame Timur), was head of a tribe whose organization was turned into a worldwide empire by him. Being considered the epicenters of art and culture, and symbols of the power and magnificence of Timurids, the great cities of Timuri dynasty in Asia Minor and Afghanistan include: Shahr-e-Sabiz, Samarqand, Bukhara, and Herat. They employed skillful artists from the east and west in

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[1] . Hallide and Gotez, *Indian and Iranian Art and India and Islam*, p 71

[2]. Blair and Bloom, *Islamic Art and Architecture (2) (1250-1800)*, p 398

order to achieve their goals. Most of these glorious works do not exist due to earthquakes and invasions.[1]

Turning his own birthplace into the capital was Timur's first architectural endeavor. He called it Shahr-e-Sabz situated in the south of Samarqand and surrounded by Zarafshan Mountains.[2]Klavixo says: "Timur always supported the trade so that he could turn his capital into one of the most important cities. After his wars and conquests in new territories, he moved the eminent artists to Samarqand."[3] There is evidence that Timur was fascinated by the buildings and gardens of Shiraz, and in the second time he occupied Shiraz, he stayed in Takht Bagh for one month. Sharafuddin Ali Yzadi wrote: "His Majesty moved all the respected artists and artisans from Fars and Iraq." It is obvious that they were employed to construct Samarqand. The buildings and gardens of Shiraz set a perfect example of a beautiful city for him; that is why Samarqand gardens and buildings adopted the same names as the ones in Shiraz. For example, Delghosha Garden and Jahan-nama Garden in Samarqand are still in existence in Shiraz and bear the same names. He took many artists from Shiraz to Samarqand.

In addition to Timur's taste, his aim should also be considered; which was erecting high and magnificent buildings. Due to suitable economical situation, glorious constructions were created. That is why Khlavixo describes the extraordinary buildings ornamented by golden and blue tiles.[4] In 1399 A.D. he ordered the construction of a new Jamea Masjid which could deserve his majestic capital. It was completed in 1404 A.D, and named after his wife's mother, Bibi Khanum. (Appendix, figure 18) It was built in the rectangular

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[1]. Blair and Bloom, *Islamic Art and Architecture (2) (1250-1800)*, p 91

[2] . See M.E. Masson and G.A.Pugachenkova, "Shahrisibaz pri Timure i Ulugbeke,'' trans. J. M. Rogers, "Shahr-I Sabaz from Timure to Ulugh Beg,'' Iran, 16(1978):103-26 and 18 (1980): pp 121 – 43

[3] . Kavixo, *Travel Book of Kalvixo*, Trans. Masoud Rajab Nia, Tehran: Scientific and Cultural Publications, 5th ed. 2006, p 243

[4] . Ali Yazdi, Sharaf-ed-Din .*Zafar Nameh*, ed. by Muhammad Abbasi, Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1958, pp 122 -124

area of 109 in 167. Its minarets face a very big gate, and the 19 meters vaults equal Aksaray's vaults. Around the pillared saloons there was a courtyard, and the patios are constructed in the middle of every four angle. The void patios of the corners are connected to quadrangular chambers with tall and onion-like domes. Like the big entrance, the patio on the Kiblah side is connected to minarets. The domes had two layers.[1]The walls are covered with tile and sudatory bricks with various colors. The domes are covered with blue glossy tiles. Although the four-patio design was common in 12th century, the domes behind patios on the corners were a new innovation. The bulk of the mosque building was the same as other Timuri architectural works. It was imitated from the last Iranian royal mosque, that is, Sultaniyya constructed by Uljaytu Ilkhan, which is now ruined.[2]A new kind of semi lunar vaults can be seen in Ghiyasiyye Madrasa constructed by Ghavameddin in the early Timuri period in 1442 –1443A.D. Ghiyeseddin Shiraz completed it. It was built for Ahmad Khafi, originally from Khaf (Appendix, figure19) (a previously prosperous city near the border of Iran and Afghanistan). A kind of laundry design is employed, and it has an entrance which connects the building to a courtyard of four patios. But the distribution of space is more expansive than a complex, and it is very complicated. (Appendix, figure 20) The angles are puffed to be in accordance with the four previous façades, and it emulates Mashhad Mosque in terms of experience. The patios have the same size; thus, the mosque is near the entrance of the complex. Measuring the complex entrance as an architectural unit is one of the characteristics of Timuri architecture, and it was employed in the next periods to come. The rooms connected to the entrance are cruciform, and they are covered with vaulting system like Ghoharshad's tome. The room on the right has a Mihrab like a mosque. The other room (Appendix, figure 21) was apparently the congregation saloon. Now, these buildings do not have its original form; because the internal component parts of the congregation saloon are unknown. Bright color tiles in the blur background were implemented for the tablet inscriptions of the walls. Construction year, as inscribed on

[1] .Although the lateral domes have been reconstructed with ribs, Man'kovskaia has challenged this assumption.

[2]. Baliar, Sheila S. "The Mughal Capital of Sultaniyya the Imperial'', Iran 24(1986): pp 139-51

the entrance tablet, is 1444 – 1445 A.D; indicating the fact that completion of tile ornamentation took several years.[1]

The wealth, grandeur, and art sponsorship of Timurians impacted the cities in central Iran like Yazd and Isfahan, and new constructions were erected. There are around 20 remaining imarets in Yazd region, and several others were mentioned in history books. The biggest edifice is a complex (1437A.D) constructed by Mir Chakhmagh, Shahrukh and his wife's ruler. This complex involve a four-patio mosque, Khangah, Kanat, water resource and well, bath, and caravanserai. A particular kind of state architecture, similar to architectural style in the big cities in the north west of Iran, was emerged, but it was totally separate and independent from it. In terms of quality of light and expansiveness, the state ones are in sharp contrast with the most beautiful buildings in the big cities. (Appendix, figure 22)[2]

Timuri architectural features influenced the farthest regions of the western Islamic world. One of these examples is the tomb of Ozun Hassan's son, Zeinal Mirza, in Hesn Kifa (Appendix, figure 23) (Turkey) who was killed by Ottomans in 1473A.D. The cylindrical-shaped examples can be seen in the old constructions of Anatoly. But Timuri architectural technique is used in onion-shaped domes, brick ornamentation, and sudorific (moarragh) tiles. Another example is Chinili Kushk built by Sultan Muhammad Fatih (1444 – 1481A.D) in Topghaisarai, Istanbul, (Appendix, figure 24) in 1472A.D. Other particular features of Timuri architecture are concentrated and symmetrical design, Sekanj vaulting, and tile ornamentations. However, the immediate emerging style after Timuri era was disappeared; Turkmen edifices in the west of Iran and the east of Anatoly such as Yaqhub's Hasht Behesht Palace in Tabriz.

The influence of Timuri architecture is stretched from Asia Minor and India to Turkey. The style was spread through directly studying the edifices, designs, and migrant

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[1] .O'kane, Bernard, "The Madrasa al – Ghiyasiyya at Khargird'', Iran 14 (1976): pp 79 -92

[2] .O'kane,Bernard , "The Tiled Minbars of Iran'' ,Annales islamologiques 22 (1986): pp 133 – 55

architects and professionals. A royal architectural style was emerged which was then followed by the upcoming royal powers like Safavids, Ottomans, Timurians.[1]

3-7- Architecture in Mughal Sultans' Period

Indian Timurians (1526–1857A.D.), as the greatest and wealthiest dynasty enjoyed the longest reign in India. Being one of the Timuri princes and son of Omar Sheikh, Babur Shah was one of the disciples of a master Sufi called Khaje Nasereddin Ahrar; he was Ashafeiee Sunni Muslim, aficionado of mysticism, and he reigned in Samarqand for a long time. He was a Joghataee Turk; Timur's descendant from father's side and Genghis Khan's from mother's side.[2] During his father's reign, he was born in Samarqand (1491 A.D) and he was named Zahir-al-din- Muhammad; but, when he grew up and came to power, his original name was forgotten and came to be known as Babur. In Turkish-Mughal language, it means male lion, and there is no doubt that he deserved this title. His father died when he was 12 years old, and inherited his power. But a group of Samarqand elites especially his uncle refused to recognize him as their ruler, and turned his opponents. Consequently, after a couple of years, he could not resist and escaped. With the assistance of his father's loyal friends, he prepared an army, attacked Samarqand, and occupied it. Gradually, he spread his dominance over Mavara-annahr, Ghaznein, Kabul, Herat, Ghouriyan, and Hezare.

He defeated the powerful ruler of Muhammad Moghim, Amir Zonnun's son, and almost occupied all parts of Afghanistan. He was in war with Afghan rulers and Timuri princes, but he could finally overcome his enemies. He then bent his efforts on construction and spread of justice; he erected many buildings in different cities including Afghanistan. He constructed a garden, mosque, and a magnificent tomb for himself in Kabul.

Since he raised the idea of spreading his territories beyond Mavaara-annahr and Afghanistan, he decided to conquer India. With a powerful army, he crossed the Sind River to occupy Delhi. One of the descendants of Afghan rulers called Pani Ibrahim Lodi

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[1] . Blair and Bloom, *Islamic Art and Architecture (2) (1250-1800)*, p 107

[2] . Ibid, p 694

reigned in Delhi then. The Lodi ruler was finally defeated and escaped. After the occupation of Delhi, Baber was under the harsh attacks of Rajputs who were one of the powerful and warrior tribes around Delhi. At last he defeated them, and introduced himself as the Shah and ruler of the northern parts of India, and chose Agra as his capital. He maintained a friendly relationship with Ottoman king, Sultan Suleiman, and Safavid king, Shah Ismail Safavi, and dispatched his ambassadors to their courts. He also sought Shah Ismail's assistance his broadening his territories. Sultan Suleiman sent a group of skillful Ghostantaniye painters and architects to Agra to construct and ornament Babur's royal palaces. And within a year, they erected magnificent palaces. Baber also occupied Gujarat, Deccan, Bangale, and some other provinces in India, and called himself the Shah of the whole Indian territories. He raised the idea of a establishing a central government in India, and choosing Delhi as his capital, but did not live this long to achieve his goal. He could not spread his dominance over the southern and eastern provinces. He died at the age of 49 in a garden around Agra in 1530 A.D. His body was transferred to a cemetery in Kabul, and buried there.[1]

Humayun, Babur's son, (reigned from1530 – 1556 A.D) confronted the riots by previous Lodi government elites especially Farid Khan Sur after coming to power. The Afghan leader defeated Humayun in Kanuj in 1540 A.D and made him leave India till 1555 A.D. Farid Khan (reined from 1540 to 1555) seized Mogul territories, and adopted the name, Sher Shah Sur, for himself. He was an able commander and ruler. He endeavored financial reforms, and improved the previously run government system of Timurians. Humayun was in exile for 15 years in Sind, Iran, and Afghanistan. Due to the conflicts among Sher Shah's descendants over succession, Timurian could reclaim their power in 1555A.D. One year later, Humayun fell from the staircase of his library and died, and his son, Akbar, succeeded him (reigning from 1556 to 1605A.D).

[1] . Safaee Malayeri, Ibrahim. "King Babur, Founder of Indian Timurid Dynasty". Armaghan Magazine of Language and Literature, Period 29, Issue 9, Tehran: 1961, pp 389-390

Akbar’s long-term reign could enable him to spread his dominance over the north and center of India. His successor, Shah Jahan, (reign in 1628 to 1658A.D) had the ambition of establishing a vast Sunni empire (against Safavid Shia empire) by attaching Asia Minor to India. But he was defeated in 1647A.D. Aurangzeb (reign in 1658 – 1707) adopted a conservative policy. State elites and officials, both Muslim and Hindus, gained more power, and Timuri emperors lost their glory and power; because, power was handled by state rulers and Europeans especially the English.[1]

Sponsorship of architecture and arts was diminished; however, the previously constructed buildings served as inspiration for art supporters who had little financial resources. During Timuri period, an intricate and unique style was emerged. It was the mixture of Indian, Islamic, Iranian, and Asia Minor techniques. A similar combinatory style – Iranian traditional technique – was emerged in Deccan subcontinent. In the newly emerged style flat surfaces were divided into frames. Stone especially red sand stone and white marbles replaced brick and tile. In the meantime, construction of pillars and horseshoe entrances in non-religious edifices was implemented. New forms such as elliptical arches and onion-shaped domes are the main features of Timuri architectural style. No architectural work has remained from Babur and Humayun’s periods. Baber has the reputation of spreading architectural style of Char Bagh, and Hmayun for erecting Din Pana, the sixth city of Delhi in 1533A.D.[2]

Sher Shah was one of the avid sponsors of architecture. He fixed the routes leading to holy sites from Bengal to Punjab. Akbar Shah also reconstructed them by broadening. They were eternalized by Rudyard Kipling. Sher Shah erected Pouran Ghala (Kohne Palace) (Appendix, figure 25) in Din Panah, and later constructed Kohne Ghala Masjid. This mosque is the link between architectural styles of Indian sultanates and emerging Mogul style. His most glorious erections are in Sesaram and Bahar. Within 1538 to

[1] . Blair and Bloom, *Islamic Art and Architecture (2) (1250-1800)*, p 694

[2] .Mnhnihan, Elizabeth B. Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal Inida (New York, 1980).The most extensive example of Babur, s garden architecture is his lotus garden at Dholpur between Agra and Gwalior. See Moynihan, Elizabeth B. “The Lotus Garden Palace of Zahir al – Din Muhammad Babur,’’ Mugarnas 5 (1988): pp 135 -52

1545A.D. (Appendix, figure 26) he erected a magnificent cemetery. It was designed in three floors which was adapted from Lodi cemeteries in Delhi, but in a larger scale. Sher Shah's tomb (41/5 meters) is diagonally very much bigger than Lodi tombs. This three-floored tomb is situated in the middle of a man-made lake with the angles of 46 meters, and it is reflected on the lake water gloriously. The beautiful sandstones of Chunar region were implemented in construction. Currently it has unified gray color; originally it had very bright colors such as red, blue, yellow, and white. It is in the vicinity of a main big road; to show that Sher Shah Sur was a very just and generous sultan. He constructed the second tomb in the honor of his father, Hassan Sur, in Sesaram. He erected the third one (1542 – 1543A.D) in the honor of his grandfather, Ibrahim Sur, in Narnaul which is 120 kilometers far from the southeastern part of Delhi. [1]

A lot of architectural researches have been carried out about Humayun's support. The octagonal belvedere called Shermandal is linked with the royal library in which Humayun died. The construction of his tomb was started ten years after his death during Akbar's period, and it was completed one decade later in 1572A.D.His tomb (Appendix, figure 27)[2] lies in a flatland of Delhi in the vicinity of Yamuna River 1500 meters in the south of the walls of Din Pana. It is on the eastern side of Nezameddin Oulyia's shrine (one of the famous Sufis of India 1236 – 1325A.D). He was Sheikh Farid Ganjshekar's disciple, and follower of Cheshtyyeh mysticism which was supported by Timurian.

Homayun's tomb is the middle of a big garden (348 square meters). It is built on a big platform (99 square meters). The platform is 56 meters high. The raw materials implemented are red stone and white marble. Humayn's grave is in the middle the interior. Two floors of the octagonal rooms contain his relatives' graves. This design, known as Hasht Behesht (eight paradises) in Persian, was implemented during Timurian period of Iran. According to this era's historian, Abdulghader Bedivani, the designer of

[1] . Asher, Catherine B. "The Mausoleum of Sher Sah Suri'', Artibus Asiae 39 (1977): pp 273-98

[2] .Lowry, Glenn D. "Humayun's Tomb: from Function, and Meaning in Early Mughal Architecture'', Mugarnas 4 (1987), pp 133-48

the tomb was Mirak Mirza Ghiyaseddin, an Iranian architect, who previously carried out some other works in Herat, Bukhara, and Kabul. He employed different resources in Humayun's tomb such as the techniques used during Sultanate and Sher Shah Sur's periods. There is no doubt that it was mainly inspired by Sher Shah's tomb is Seseram. The garden is the replica of Seseram garden. Humayun's tomb is in accordance with the royal tomb construction tradition of Iran, like Uljaytu tomb in Sultaniyya,(Appendix, figure 28) and Timur's tomb in Samarqand.(Appendix, figure 29) Symmetrical design, length of domes, and two-layered onion-shaped domes allude to the fact that the architect was well aware of the architectural features of Timuri period. [1]

After two years of his accession, Akbar transferred his capital from Delhi to Agra. Agra was called Akbarabad in his honor, and became the largest city in his empire. The main part of the city was located in the western bank of Yumana. A system for controlling rainwater was devised there. New walls were erected, and the old adobe Lodi fort was reconstructed with sandstones; and due to its red color, it was called Red Fort. It had a ditch and two walls connected to Delhi Gate on the west and Amir Singh's Gate on the south. On these huge gates, there were rows of crescent sconce with the remarkable exterior façade of red sandstone, white marble and glazed blue tiles.[2]Two palaces were reconstructed and repaired during Akbar's period. Akbar Mahal is almost ruined, and Jahangiri Mahal, (Appendix, figure 30) reconstructed during Akbar's period, is one of the oldest Timuri castles.[3]Brackets and struts are completely carved as well as the images of animals like alligator. They were adopted from Hindu castles in Gwalior, and allude to the fact that the architects were from this city (100 k/m in the south) whose strong forts were erected during Timur's period (1398 – 1517A.D). The geometrical deigns on the

[1] .For the links between Timurid and Mughal architecture, see Golom bek Lisa, "From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal,'' Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharine Otto- Dorn, ed. A. Daneshvari (Malibu, 1981), pp 43-50

[2] . Akbarnama, Abul'l – Fazl. ii ,73,cited in Fatehpur Sikri : A Sourcebook,ed. Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry (Cambridge,MA,1985),p.10 and note 25 .

[3] .Klingelhofer, William G. "The Jahangiri Mahal of the Agra Fort: Expression and Experience in Early Mughal Architecture,'' Muqarnas 5(1988): pp 153-69

walls and flat frameworks in Jahangiri Mahal were adopted from Timuri designs especially book ornamentation since Timuri era's books were considered rich sources of Mughal workshops. Similar distinctive and combinatory architectural traditions in a greater and regular scale can be seen in Fatehpursikri, (Appendix, figure 31) Akbar's new capital (established in 1571A.D).[1]

Akbar's edifices in Fatehpur-sikr are linked together, and they were constructed with beautiful red sandstone like the ones in Agra. This city is in the middle of the ancient city of Sikri in the northeast, and Salim Cheshti's house of seclusion in the southwest. 11 k/m of wall surrounds it with towers, fortification, and gates excluding the northwestern part which was the lake bank. Residential area of the city was mostly located beyond the walls, and was expanded 20 k/m. And around it, there were royal gardens, resting sites, elite residential places, drinking and gambling sites, and even a language teaching school for children.

The edifices inside the city were situated in two distinctive ways. The services offered in these edifices include: caravanserai, factory, and a long bazaar. The royal area of the city included a Jamea Masjid and Doulatkhana on Kiblah direction. Jmaea Masjid of Fatehpur- sikri (1573 – 1574A.D) is one of the greatest mosques in India, rectangular in shape on a high platform. Its Mihrab is on the eastern wall of royal gate connected to the palace. The gate and dome are parallel to Salim Cheshti's house of seclusion on the west, and the mosque is on the eastern part. There is a huge gate (34 meters high) on the southern wall to which steep staircases are connected from ground. Salim Cheshti's (Appendix, figure 32) white marble tomb is located on the north of the courtyard; it is a small square building (14/63 meter on each angle) with three marvelous whirling pillars on its front entrance. It is the only construction which was not made up of red sandstone;

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[1] . The site was the focus of a conference held during the Festival of India in 1985; many of the papers were later published in Fatehpur – Sikri, Ed. Michael Brand and Glenn D .Lowry (Bombay, 1987)

because, white marble was implemented for constructing Sufis' tombs during this period.[1]

During Akbar's reign, Timuri architecture revealed its special features and identity. Architectural activities increased in comparison to Tughlaghi period. The expansion of Timuri Empire is reflected in its architecture; because, artists moved to their courts from different states. Application of red sandstone emulated the previous incongruous Indian, Iranian, and central Asian styles. Construction of pillars and horseshoe gates were common while arcuate shapes were not that much common; however, they were used in construction of mosques, schools, and great entrances.

While Mughal style was being established in the north of India, a synthetic style, bearing the features of traditional Iranian and Indian techniques, was being emerged in Deccan. In 15th century, severe conflicts between local Deccan Muslims and non-native tribes weakened Bahmani dynasty's power; from 1347A.D onward, they ruled over Deccan from their capital in Golbaraga in the north of Deccan. They were replaced by five local dynasties which used to be their peasants. They were in constant conflict with each other; but, at last, in 1564, they temporarily reached a peace agreement, and with one another's collaboration they attacked the Hindu state in the south called Vijayanagar, and devastated its capital, Tlikota. Their success attracted Timuri's attention. It was only during Aurangzeb's period in 1680A.D when, finally, Deccan was completely subjugated by Timuris.

Two long-lasting governments that succeeded Bahmani Dynasty include Adelshahyian (1490 –1686), the descendants of Yousef Adel Khan who was Turkish attendant to Bahmanis and the ruler of Bijapur, and Ghotbshahyian (1512 – 1687A.D), the descendants of Gharaghyunlu Turkmen commander who was the ruler of Telingana in the eastern side of Bahmani territory. They were both Shia and had close ties with Safavids. They were considered the epicenters for supporting different arts including literature, painting, and architecture. Adelshahyian erected many buildings in their capital, Bijapur.

[1] . In addition to the tombs of Nizam al – Din in Delhi and Mu' in al Din at Ajmer, and early example is the tomb of Shah Alam in A hamdabad , for which see Ebba Koch, "Influence on Mughal Architecture ,'' in Ahmedabad,ed. George Michell and Snehal Shah (Bombay,1988),pp 168 – 72

Ibrahim II (1579 – 1627A.D), the fifth ruler, was an eminent art-lover in Deccan. In terms of construction and aesthetics, Bijapur local architectural style was considered the most symmetrical style in Deccan, and the prime example was the tomb of Mohammad, Ibrahim's son, (reign 1627 – 1656A.D). (Appendix, figure 33) Ghotbshahyian's headquarter was Golkonda; they had a distinctive architectural style which was manifested in Hyderabad in 1590 – 1591A.D. Muhammad Gholi, the fifth ruler, (reign 1580 – 1612A.D) constructed the fort in the Golkonda suburb. Tourists and historians described its gardens, bazaars, and palaces. The most attractive monument is Chrminar, (Appendix, figure 34) a covered passageway in the heart of the city. Hyderabad Darvaza was bigger than Tin Darvaza. (Appendix, figure 35) The ground floor is 30 square meters. It has four thick minarets on the angles which are 10/8 meters high. On the head of minarets, there are round belvederes with oval-shaped domes. The passageway is still retained its magnificence. Its upper building is sparkling, and its minarets are well-proportioned horizontally.

Architectural activities underwent transformations during Jahangir's period in terms of constructing palaces, hunting grounds, official gardens, and ornamented seclusions; nothing of which has remained. These period involved constructions with rich ornamental surfaces and the materials included sandstone, white marble, stone carving, pictured chalk-work, and tile. The most important erection was his father’s tomb in (Appendix, figure 36) Sekendra, 8 k/m on the northwest of Agra. Sekendra was expanded during Sekandar Lodi’s reign (1489 – 1517A.D), and it was named after him. Akbar turned it into a garden called Behestabad. It seems that construction of was started after emperor’s death in 16th October 1605A.D. The inscription on of the gate indicates that it was completed after Jahangir’s accession. Like Humayun’s tomb in Delhi, Akbar’s tomb is situated in a vast garden (765 square meters) surrounded by walls, and portioned by Anhari. Over the red sandstone entrance on the southern side, there are four minarets ornamented with white, gray, and black marble. On both sides of the entrance, there are frames with geometrical and thick plant Islimi designs like the one on a piece of cloth. Some lines of poetry on its arch framework compare the tomb and garden to a paradise garden. Its designer is Abdulhagh Shirazi who later was entitled Amanat Khan. A couple of Taj Mahal tablets are his work. Akbar’s tomb lies on a bulky chalk and engraved

platform (104 square meters, 14.9 meters high). The tomb (52 square meters) has chiseled ornaments with three rows of red sandstone belvedere as well as chatris on the angles. The emperor's tombstone surrounded by reticulated marble is in the courtyard. Color of the white marble is in sharp contrast to the red color of sandstone. The play of light and shade over the sparkling building is in accordance with bulky pillars and columns.

Timuri architecture reached its classic apex during Shah Jahan's period (reign 1627 – 1658), he was Jahangir's son and successor, and one the art enthusiast and lovers of Timuri empire. The use of sharp sternal arch became common, and white marble and beautiful chalk-work replaced the red sandstone. These materials were polished with creating convex designs and inlaid work. The court architectural organization was under the direct supervision of the empire. Like Ottoman Empire, a unified style was emerged. Within the seven years after his father's death, Shah Jahan erected a tomb for him in Shadera, suburb of Lahore, in 1627. This city was on the connecting route of caravanserais from Delhi, Multan, Kashmir, and Kabul. The tourists who have visited its mosques, bazaars, palaces, gardens, and beautiful houses of elites, some of them are still remaining, admire them. Jahangir's tomb, inspired by Timuri pattern, lies in a four-sided garden. The garden was constructed during Jahangir's reign. The Ravi River was on the eastern part of the garden (500 sq/m), and there was a front yard with a mosque on its western side. Similar to the garden of Akbar's tomb, this garden was divided into 16 parts. The grave was on a big platform (85sq/m). (Appendix, figure 37)Unlike the previous examples, it had one floor, and there were tower-like minarets on its angels. The tombstone, which is removed now, was inside a two-layered reticular stone, and it was open like Akbar's. Its red sandstone surface was ornamented with white marble in the shapes of wine cup and vases full of flowers.[1]

[1]. Blair and Bloom, *Islamic Art and Architecture (2) (1250-1800)*, p 710-711

3-8 - Taj Mahal

Taj Mahal (Appendix, figure 38) is the tomb which Shah Jahan erected in the memory of his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal; it was more famous than the tomb he erected for his father. In fact, it is one of well-known edifices of Islamic world, and one of the eminent man-made constructions. The side view of the building can be compared to three Pyramids of Egypt, Eifel Tower, and Pizza Tower; and serves as the sign for Indian subcontinent. The construction was commenced right after Mumtaz Mahal's sudden death in 1631A.D. She was Ghyiaseddin Mohammad, known as Ghyiasbeig Tehrani, who was entitled Itemad Addoule during Akbar Shah's period. He moved from Iran to India, and assigned high official positions in the court; especially during Jahangir period and after his daughter's betrothal (Nourjahan Beigum) to him, he gained more influence in the government body, and accordingly all of his family members and relatives were granted important official positions. He was a man of letters, accountant, and adroit writer. He had mastery in calligraphy, and he had nice mannerism. There was no bond, chain, and whip in his house, and everyone who took refuge in him was released. He raised his sons and daughters in such a manner that they all became artists, men of letter, and skillful people. His eldest son, Asef, was one of renowned scientists and officials of his time. His daughter, Nour Jahan Begum was an art and literature lover, and household activities, and served as a model for Indian women. She was also skillful at horse riding and archery. She was the woman who was betrothed to Jahangir. His daughter called Mumtaz Mahal was betrothed to Prince Shihabeddin Muhammad Khorram whom Jahangir entitled Shah Jahan after the conquest of Deccan. He succeeded Jahangir after his death. Mumtaz Mahal who was later entitled Mumtaz Zamani and Mahd Oliya was a talented woman, and through his influence, Iranian culture and civilization were spread in India. This respectable lady lived with Shah Jahan for 21 years. She gave birth to fourteen children, but seven children could survive (three girls and four sons). Among his sons, Aurangzeb ascended to the thrown (1658 – 1706 AD). In 1631 AD, Mumtaz Mahal died while giving birth to her daughter, Gouhar Arambeig, in Burhanpour, and she was buried in

Bagh Zarrin. Six months later, her body was transferred to Akbarabad, and she was buried in his eternal resting place, Taj Mahal, near Jumna River.[1]

Shah Jahan ordered the construction of Taj Mahal after his wife's death. It is one of the most famous Mogul style buildings, and it can be categorized under Iranian-Indian style. It was constructed by Isa Afandi, a Turk from central Asia, and with the help of 22,000 laborers, and some say 17,000 and it took 22 years. When he promised his wife that he would construct such a unique edifice in the world, he could not have been aware of the difficulties. He faced so many challenges including the construction site, materials, technical issues which could fortify it against natural disasters such as flood, earthquake, and storm, as well as the temperature of 1 to 47 degrees centigrade. But the wonderful thing is that Taj Mahal has withstood and survived different natural disasters for some centuries. How can it preserve its glory and beauty for more than three and a half centuries? In fact, marbles are not more than 2.5 cm thick. Marble pieces have cubic shapes. That is, their length and width and height are equal. Behind the marbles, a layer of lime had been applied. As a result, lime always absorbs the river water, and in addition to fortifying it, it cools the marbles in excruciating summer heat. This technique can be seen in many of the buildings of the Mogul empire.

Ustad Isa Afandi is still known as the architect of Taj Mahal, and historians are unanimous about that, because it was not customary to keep the record of the architects in books. Some believe that since Ustad Ahmad Lahori was the arch architect of Shah Jahan's reign, Taj Mahal could have been constructed under his supervision. Some historians believe that because of Turkish poems composed by Shah Jahan and carved on the walls of Taj Mahal, the Shah himself was the designer of Taj Mahal.

Architectural style of Taj Mahal is mainly Iranian, and on the whole this architectural masterpiece is the combination of Indian and Iranian architectural styles. Indian, Iranian, and Arab laborers and artisans were employed for the construction. The construction materials were collected from different countries: crystal stones from China, lazuli from

[1] .Begly, Wayne E. "The Myth of the Taj Mahal and New Theory of Its Symbolic Meaning'' , Art Bulletin 56/I (1979): PP 7- 37

Sri Lanka, agate from Baghdad, turquoise from Tibet, coral from Saudi Arabia, marble and ruby from Iran, and white agate from Europe. Taj Mahal complex is 579.12 meters long and 304.80 meters wide. The purpose of building this complex was to accommodate hundreds of thousands of tourists who were expected to visit there in the following years.

It is a shrine and tomb constructed in the middle of a big garden. It has four entrances. The plan of this shrine consists of different parts including: the main beautiful building, a garden entrance, a mosque on the left, a guesthouse on the right, and several small buildings, which were made up of marble and mortar, around it.

The base structure is essentially a large, multi-chambered cube with chamfered corners, forming an unequal octagon that is approximately 55 meters on each of the four long sides. On each of these sides, a massive pishtaq, or vaulted archway, frames the iwan with two similarly shaped, arched balconies stacked on either side. This motif of stacked pishtaqs is replicated on the chamfered corner areas, making the design completely symmetrical on all sides of the building. Four minarets frame the tomb, one at each corner of the plinth facing the chamfered corners. The main chamber houses the false sarcophagi of Mumtaz Mahal and Shah Jahan; the actual graves are at a lower level.

The marble dome that surmounts the tomb is the most spectacular feature. Its height of around 35 meters is about the same as the length of the base, and is accentuated as it sits on a cylindrical "drum" which is roughly 7 meters high. Because of its shape, the dome is often called an onion dome. The top is decorated with a lotus design, which also serves to accentuate its height. The shape of the dome is emphasized by four smaller domed chattris (kiosks) placed at its corners, which replicate the onion shape of the main dome. Their columned bases open through the roof of the tomb and provide light to the interior. Tall decorative spires (guldastas) extend from edges of base walls, and provide visual emphasis to the height of the dome. The lotus motif is repeated on both the chattris and guldastas. The dome and chattris are topped by a gilded finial, which mixes traditional Persian and Hindu decorative elements.

The main building of Taj Mahal has three main entrances. The public entrance is big gate, and it was constructed in Iranian style, and it is located in the middle of northern

wall of the dome. The walls of the entrance gates are embellished by marble, and Koran verses are written on them in black. The letters are so proportionate from top to down that a viewer considers them as having the same sizes. The tomb and the northern gate are connected by a special pool. The iwn of the tomb is made in such a way that it could not be damaged by flooding. The tomb has square shape. The length of each side is 5.9 meters. Its height is 74.22, and the height of each of the four minarets is 41.76. Koran verses are written on the walls of Taj Mahal by Amanat Khan Shirazi who was the Iranian calligrapher of Shah Jahan's court. The main tombs are placed in lower floor. Mumtaz Mahal's tomb is situated in the center, beside it, Shah Jahan's tomb which is bigger than hers is placed. His date of death and all his titles are written on Shah Jahan's empty tomb in Persian calligraphy. A brief description and Koran verses are written in Persian calligraphy on Mumtaz Mahal's tomb. Also, 99 tiles of God are written on her epitaph.

Different stages of the construction of the building are the followings:

a) The first stage: foundation work and construction of the platform up to the surface.
b) The second stage: construction of the first platform with lime.
c) The third stage: the leveling of the first platform with stone (carving red stones and use of carving art)
d) The fourth stage: construction of another platform on the first platform. The purpose of the second platform was to place the main building higher than the first platform. It was covered with white stones. The tombs are placed in the middle of the second platform.
e) Erection of the main building in the center of the platform.

It can be said that the architecture of Gorkanid tombs achieved its glory during Shah Jahan's reign by the construction of Taj Mahal.[1] As one of the most beautiful buildings of the world, Taj Mahal is the eighth wonder of the world. Although formerly architects followed Brahmin style, because of political and cultural relationship of Akbar Shah and his descendants with Safavids, Iranian architectural style was implemented in constructing palaces, mosques, and tombs. The similarities as follow:

1. In Iranian style, tombs are divided into three groups including: tombs with square plan, tombs with four-sided domes, and tombs with octagonal domes in which all Iranian tombs are placed at the center of the building. It is the point where an individual heads to afterlife, and he is connected with a holy geometry. The center is the point of eternal creation which is in accordance with Hindu and Buddhist traditions. And the eternal resting place of this great lady, Banu Begum, was considered within this ideology.

2. The octagonal shape of this shrine is the symbol of persistence and equilibrium. Moreover, because many sides, it has the characteristics of circle. This alludes to the universal teachings of Hindus in which emancipation wheel has eight blades. These eight blades is the indicative of the main four directions and middle directions.

3. Like a palace in the upper part of a garden, Taj Mahal is very similar to Iranian gardens such as Eram Garden and Delgosha Garden. Water has centrality in these gardens. The revival of such gardens can be seen in Iranian gardens especially Hasht Behesht Garden of Isfahan. Thus, one of the eminent features of Iranian architecture can be observed in these constructions.

4. Iranian spirit has never succumbed to imprisonment in mundane world, and it has never forgotten heavenly world of monotheism. Beyond this aesthetics, a truth is hidden.

[1] . Mofkham, Mohsen. "Taj Mahal Structure or an Iranian Work of Architecture in India", Magazine of History, No. 15 and 16, Tehran: 1969, pp 55-58

Beauty and beautiful construction is a glorious gift to God for expressing gratitude and praise, and means of getting close to him.

5. An important Iranian characteristic is introversion and avoiding vanity which is depicted and pictured in Taj Mahal. Garden, tall and beautiful entrance gate, mosque, guesthouse, and four domes are, in fact, invitations to one's own self. A space full of reverence and particular peace stems from the white color of the building.

6. The other characteristic of Iranian culture is symmetry which is depicted in this magnificent building, and it is comparable Jamea Mosque in Isfahan. Arch facets and entrance gate embellishments, use of vegetation designs and not human and animal designs, height of the dome which interestingly reflects sound, famous domes of Khaje Nezam-ulmulk, khaki dome, and symmetrical minarets illustrate an impressible nature of Taj Mahal.

7. This building is created based on one of the most prominent mental activities of men, that is, prayer, because there is an interaction between prayer and creation, and whatever is created based on this concept is genuine and everlasting. The architectural space is powerful. It can overwhelm men's thoughts since it is an expression of ideology. Thus, it is only Shah Jahan who was capable of erecting such a masterpiece for his wife for expressing his gratitude.

8. The tomb of Bibi Khanoom, Timur's wife, is similar to Taj Mahal, and it is tinged somewhat by it. Timur constructed the biggest mosque in central Asia, and named it after his wife, Bibi Khanoom. It has rectangular shape, and it is surrounded on each side by an exterior wall to four minarets. On the eastern part of the yard, there is a big and main entrance which leads to the main mosque having a big blue dome. There are two small mosques on the northern and southern parts opposite to Bibi Khanoom's tomb. Like Taj Mahal, it is erected on octagonal foundation. There are many historical evidences about creation of tombs for women. They were built in their honor for showing respect and

gratitude for women artists who, because of the open socio-political space during this period, were allowed to perform in art and architecture arenas.[1]

Shah Jahan was an enthusiastic supporter of palaces and mosques. After his accession, he ordered the repair of Agra palace. The reconstruction was completed in 1637A.D. It had three courtyards, a hall for common attendants, a room for warehouse which is now called Machhi Bhavan, and a quarter which is now known as Anguri Bagh. The first courtyard is connected to the entrance, while two other courtyards, facing the river, were used by the emperor and his companions. There is a Jamea Masjid inside the palace, and due to the transparence of the white marbles within, it is now called Moti Mosque; and it was not completed till 1653 (that is, after Shah Jahan transferred the capital to Delhi). The mosque includes a rectangular prayer room (49 in 17). Moti Mosque is the larger replica of Ajmar Mosque. It has an arched opening which used to be implemented in constructing smaller mosques in Timuri Empire. One way design, mostly applied in Sher Shah Sur's Mosque in Delhi, was implemented for Jamea Masjid of big cities which had a vast courtyard, narrow prayer room, front arch, or five domes. Vizir Khan's Mosque in Lahore, (Appendix, figure 39) constructed by a court physician called Hakim Ali Chenivati in 1634 – 1635A.D, is an example of such mosques.[2] The rectangular courtyard (51 in 39) has four octagonal minarets on the corners, three one-way arches on three sides, and a three-domed prayer room on the fourth side which is Kiblah. The main entrance on the west is connected an octagonal dome-like room which is then connected to Bazaar street. The mosque is made up of glossy tiles and plaster; the traditional materials which distinguish it from other Timuri mosques in north India. For example, Agra Jamea Mosque is constructed with red sandstone and white marble. This mosque, constructed by the support of emperor's daughter, Jahan Ara, in 1648A.D, had almost the same design, but two times larger in terms of prayer room aisle openings.

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[1] . Jaghatai, Muhammad Abdullah,"The Taj Mahal", Trans. Masoud Rajab Nia, Magazine of Art and Man, No. 127, Lahore: 1974, pp 72 – 75

[2] . Jaghatai, Muhammad Abdullah. The wazir Khan Musque,Lahore(Lahore 1975), p19

Similar to that, the Emperor erected a Jamea Mosque in his new capital in Delhi within 1650 to 1656A.D. Its surface was made up of red sandstone. The slender minarets of this mosque overlooked the prayer room. Establishment of Shahjihanabad lasted from 1639 to 1648A.D under the emperor's supervision. It is built on a high ground parallel to the western bank of Yamina River in the form of an irregular half-circle. It occupied the most parts of Firuzabad city. This huge project was planned by Ahmad Lahori Memarbashi and another architect called Hamid. Gheirat Khan and later Makramat Khan (one of the architects of Taj Mahal) supervised its construction. This wall-surrounded city contained wide streets, brooks, bazaars, mosques, gardens, house of elites, and a strong castle called Laal Fort (Red Fort) which was named after red sandstone high walls engulfing white marble forts and gardens around the river. It was two times bigger than Agra fort. A covered bazaar was connected to Lahore Gate, the main entrance on the western side. There was a red sandstone leggy palace (57 in 21) similar to Agra palace bureau of commons. It had a covered Takht Khana with balustrade columns. The walls behind Takht Khana were ornamented with black marble and inlaid colorful stones impressed with plants and flowers. Over Takht Khana there is Orpheus figure playing a harp; which reveals Florence origin of the work.[1] On the easternmost side and close to the river there are rows of bureau lodgings parallel to one the river brooks. Most of them are Takht Bam Kushks, one-floored and made up of marble or brick, and they are covered with polished white plaster. There are small rooms over the angles of the roof. The most glorious part is women's section which is originally known as Emtiaz Mahal. (Appendix, figure 40) It also has a special bureau. All of them are ornamented with paintings, gold moarragh, and carved marble.

Like his father, Shah Jahan supported construction of gardens. He chose Kashmir as his summer residence. He constructed a garden around Vernag springs in the south of Srinagar. He ordered his son, Khorram Shah, to build a dam over the river around

[1] . Koch, Ebba. *Iranian Architecture in the Period of Indian Goorkanids*, Trans. Hussein Sultan Zade, Tehran: Cultural Research Office, 1995, pp 286 -92

Shalimar in Dal Lake in Srinagar. Shah Jahan’s Shalimar Garden is constructed in the region known as Farah Bakhsh. In 1634 A.D he constructed another garden called Feiz Bakhsh in the northeast. It is said that there were 777 gardens during Timuri period. The gardens involved hundred species of plants such as ivy, violet, sunflower, several species of gardenia. In addition to beautifying the garden, different types of perfumes were extracted from these flowers. According to contemporary French tourists, these gardens are comparable to Versailles.[1] Farah Bakhsh and Feiz Bakhsh were Shah Jahan’s biggest gardens. Shalimar Garden (Appendix, figure 41) was completed within 1642 to 1643A.D. The Ravi River, connected to the city through a canal, supplied the water. The canal was dug by one of the Iranian elites and engineers called Alimardan Khan who took refuge in Timuri court in 1638 A.D. The previous designs of the two four-sided gardens were widened by installing a third terrace parallel to the central river. This partition involved a huge storage more than 60 meters wide, and the water outpoured from it through one hundred fountains. The waterfalls were 5 meters high, and connected the units. During Shah Jahan's period, Timuris could establish themselves firmly in Deccan. They could subjugate Adelshahiyan in 1636 A.D. Then, Shah Jahan returned to the north and focused his attention to his new capital, Shahjihanabad. He appointed Aurangzeb the surrogate and army commander of Deccan.

Adelshahiyan of Bijapur lived in peace and harmony for 20 years, and dedicated their wealth for constructing the tomb of Muhammad Adel Shah. Known as Golgonbad, it is one of the greatest works and masterpieces of Adelshahiyan dynasty.[2]Aurangzeb maintained peace and security in the state of Deccan. Due to religious and moral discrepancies originated from childhood, Dara Shokouh, Aurangzeb elder brother, turned against him, and had to resign from office; however, Shah Jahan appointed him the ruler

[1] . Koch, Ebba. Shah Jahan and Orpheus (Graz, 1988)

[2] . On Mughal gardens in general, see Y. Crowe, S. Haywood, and S. Jellicoe, The Gardens of Mughal India (London ,1972); Susan Jellicoe, “The Development of the Mughal Garden ,’’ The Islamic Garden , ed. Elizabeth B. Macdougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington,DC,1976), pp107-30;and E.B. Moynihan, Padaise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India (New York , 1980) .

of Gujarat. Aurangzeb also annulled the hostilities in this state, and maintained peace.[1] From 1638 to 1652 A.D he was the ruler of Multan and Sind; and invaded Kandahar two times.[2] Due to inopportune interference of Shah Jahan, he achieved victory. However, Shah Jahan appointed him the ruler of Dakan. Aurangzeb was well-known as an experienced commander and politician.

In September 1657, Shah Jahan was stricken with a severe illness, and Dara Shoukuh compelled him to travel to Agra for recovery; and hence, he possessed the power. Accordingly, Aurangzeb and his brothers rioted against him. Shah Shoja was crowned in Raj Mahal, and moved his troops toward Agra. Morad Bakhsh did the same thing, and he was crowned in Ahmadabad. Nevertheless, since Aurangzeb was the wisest brother, he did not do that. Aurangzeb and Morad united against Dara Shoukuh, and agreed that after victory one third of booty and the states of Kabul, Kashmir, Punjab, and Sind would be Morad's share, and the rest would be Aurangzeb. Thus, the four brothers got prepared to fight with one another. In February 1653, Shah Shoja was approaching Banaras City. On the other side, Dara Shoukuh sent his army under the leadership of his son, Soleiman Shokouh, and Rajay Singh. They fought in Bahadorpur, and Shah Shoja was defeated consequently and escaped. On the third of April 1658, Aurangzeb and Morad moved their armies on the 14th day, and they were united in Dipalpour region. One of the armies of Dara Shooku was defeated around Ajin in a war called Daharmat. When Shah Jahan wanted to intermediate, Drara did not accept it, and prepared for another war with Aurangzeb and Morad. On 29th 1658 a full-fledged war occurred in Samugar, 15 k/m far from Agra; and Dara was defeated and fled toward Delhi. After the victory, Aurangzeb entered Agra, and sent an apology letter to his father.[3] He surrounded and occupied Agra.

[1] . Jaghatai, Muhammad Abdullah. *The Badshahi Masjid* (Lahore, 1975)

[2] . Akhtar Nasrin. "Aurangzeb", Magazine of Language and Literature, No. 240, Tehran: 1979, pp 19-20

Then he went to pay a visit to his father; but, outside the palace someone called Nahardel Khan Chile was brought to him carrying Shah Jahan's had-written letter to Dara Shoukuh asking him to collect the troops in Delhi, he would resolve the issue there.[1] After seeing the letter, Aurangzeb returned to his camp, and had Shah Jahan under house arrest, and stopped all of his political activities. He headed to Delhi to persecute Dara Shoukuh.

On 21st July 1658 A.D Aurangzeb arrived in Delhi, and he was crowned; he adopted the title of Alamgir.[2] On January 1659 A.D, he defeated Shah Shoja within the 50 k/m of Allahabad in Kahjavah. He fled to Bengal and killed there. On March 1659A.D he once again defeated Dara Shokouh near Ajmir in Divrai Mountain. He fled to Gujarat, and finally was killed on 30th August 1659 A.D when he was about to enter Iran through Kandahar. On September 1661 a couple of people lodged a complaint against Morad Bakhsh, and he was killed for murder. Aurangzeb Alamgir reigned over the Indian subcontinent for half a century.[3]

Aurangzeb spent most of reigning period (1658 – 1707A.D) in war with Daccanis. Although Delhi was a Timuri headquarter in the north, not many buildings were constructed there. Right after his accession, he ordered the construction of a small mosque which is today known as Moti Mosque (Appendix, figure 42) due to its white marbles. Traditional style was implemented, and in fact it is a replica of Shah Jhan's Negine Mosque in Agra Fort. It has special features including: live ornamentation on simple surfaces, bossy plant ornamentation, and vases full of ivies.

One of the most attractive works of Aurangzeb period is Lahore Royal Mosque (Appendix, figure 43) in Lahore Fort. It was completed in 1674 A.D under the

1. Akhtar, "Aurangzeb", pp 23- 26

[2] . Dehar, Shila. *History of India,* Vol. 1, Tehran: 1985, pp 128-129

[3] . Shah Navaz Khan, Mir Abdul-Razagh .*Semsam-ud-Doleh, Maaser-ul-Omara,* Vol. 3, Calcutta: 1891, p 69

supervision of his god brother, Fadayee Khan Kuka. It was the last mosque to be constructed with the red sandstone, and to follow the design of Shah Jahan's Jamea Masjid in Shahjihanabad. The walls are made up of the red sandstone, and the domes are made up of white marble. The material for tile-work is provided from Mahal; these materials are also implemented in Vizir Khan Mosque.

The architectural sponsorship in 18th century A.D reveals the dependency of Timuri court on outside world. The sponsors were mainly the state rulers who wanted to defy Timuris by keep repeating their own life and architectural styles. For example, Rajput Hindu princes in Ambar had military ties with Timurian in Akbar's period, and betrothed them. Their palace on the fort hill followed the architectural style of Timuris. When Timuri power was weakened, Maharaja Jai Singh II (reign in 1699 – 1727 A.D) decided to develop his territory. The magnificent city of Jaipur was named after its originator. Its architect was Vidyadhar Chakravarti, one of the Bengali Brahmins, who worked in financial headquarter. The new city had special features including: rectangular in shape with seven equal sections, crisscross streets, roads, lines, and alleys. The main roads and bazaars were parallel to each other. In the central part, there is a the seven-storey palace complex with winding yards and a four-sided garden in which there was the ruler's special temple called Govinda Deva. In addition to public edifices, residential places, workshops, and offices, there was an observatory called Janitar Mantar (Appendix, figure 44) taken from the Sanskrit word Yantrasala which means tool warehouse. The observatory, erected in 1737A.D, was a collection of 13 buildings with photoristic display. It was made up of stone and brick. There was also a sun clock inside. Like Oulogh Beigh Timuri, Jai Singh used this magnificent equipment for making horoscopy tables.

One of the best examples of the late Timuri architecture is Safdara Jangh Tomb(Appendix, figure 45) which was erected for the second Nawwab Oude in Delhi in 1754 A.D. Nawwabs were originally Iranian, and came under the service of Timuris in 1713 A.D. Within 10 years, they became the most important emirs of the north India in

1775 A.D.[1] this tomb is somewhat similar to Humayun's tomb. It was the last eminent architectural example of Timuri tomb. It is located inside a four-sided garden, and over a platform upon which there is an octagonal building like Hasht Behesht. Aesthetically, the design is changed; the small sharp dome is vertical and elongated. From outside, it is ornamented with small yellowish and reddish-brown sandstone frames, and from inside, it is ornamented with sculpt cornice. Too much attention to inlay ornamentation for example in angular towers has deteriorated the construction mass of the building. Floating ornaments, superiority of onion-shaped items, and employing too much tore are the major architectural characteristics in the late 18th century A.D. This style can be seen all over Indian subcontinent, from Himalaya to Mysore, from Punjab to Bengal; this style had also its impacts in England. (Appendix, figure 46) [2]

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[1] . Dehar, *History of India*, pp 138-42

[2] .Tandan , B. "The Architecture of the Nawabs of Avadh,1722-1856'', in Facets of Indian Art ,ed.Skelton et al, pp 66-75

4- Introduction

Safavids were heir to ideology of Sheikh Safieddin (1252-1334) who founded Safavid Tariqat in Ardebil in Northwestern Iran. These heirs tried to bring down Turkmen rulers in the Western Iran and Eastern Anatolia in late ninth/fifteenth century and Ismail son of Heidar took Azerbaijan from Agh Ghoyunlus and established Safavid rule. Safavid government was a religious one and Ismail and his successors' family tree reached to Ali bin Abitaleb (PBUH), son-in-law and successor of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and they claimed Velayat of Shiite Imams. Ghezelbashes or their Turkmen followers had political and spiritual allegiance with them. Shiite which had different bases in Iran in former eras was announced as the formal religion of Safavids and getting separated from its Sunni neighbors; Iran found a kind of national identity which has continued to this day. Due to insecurity in border areas, Safavids moved their capital from vulnerable Tabriz first to Qazvin (1555A.D) and later to Isfahan (1591A.D).[1]

Buildings that were constructed in Safavid era in Iran are the most attractive and beautiful architectural works in whole history of Iran. A lot of natural features in Iranian architecture were collected in network of glazed tiles, raised boards on doors, onion-shaped domes and pen-shaped minarets. Part of this, was because of old monuments because a considerable collection of them is present in Isfahan. Isfahan was capital of Seljukis and of course third capital of Safavids. An important part of attractiveness in Safavid architecture was because of its easy combination with simple patterns bases on increase and symmetry. Safavid architecture had little innovation in structure or appearance because architectures had to construct or decorate biggest buildings in shortest possible times and in this way they covered building's disorder with tiles. Their outstanding point was planning massive metropolitan complexes which had multiple commercial, religious and political applications in harmonious compounds. Safavid architects like painters of this era who had great interest in history of painting, had a good

[1] . Savory, Roger. *Iran under the Safavid Era*, Trans. Kambiz Azizi, Tehran, Markaz Press, 1994, pp 12-15

knowledge of Iranian architecture especially architectural tradition of Timurid dynasty in Khurasan or ethnic tradition of architecture in Isfahan and its suburbs.[1]

Among Islamic countries, it is Iran which plays the greatest role in developing the art of painting. Iranian painters were influenced by other painters and this influence was not mere imitation, on the other hand, they applied their art and enhanced it with their own talent and intelligence and presented it in an advanced form.

Painting is one of the arts which have always been developing and dynamic. Islamic artists have applied artistic styles of the conquered lands since the early Islamic period and have used Sassanid, Indian and Roman arts; whereas they produced their own arts in different modern forms. Islamic artists in the time of Omavid Caliphates were directly under the influence of Byzantine art and as the capital of caliphate changed from Damascus to Baghdad which was next to Tisfoun; influence of Iranian art on Muslim artists became more apparently visible. Islamic art of painting was at first applied on scientific, historical and literary books. Muslim artists who avoided painting human and other animated images in mosques and other religious places faced no obstacles in painting images for books; therefore they started ornamenting books with images.[2] In this chapter we will also try to uncover formation of painting schools in Safavid era and its influence on Indian school of painting.

4-1- Iran and India relationship in Akamenid period

Among the ancient peoples and ethnic groups which had contact with the life and culture of India and influenced it was Aryans. In fact, their mutual ties date back to the period

[1] . Kleiss, W. “Der Safavidische Pavillon in Qazvin’’, Archaologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, n. s. 9 (1976): pp 290 - 8

[2] . Mostajeran, Zahra. “A Study of Painting Development (Mogul period till Safavid Period)”, Magazines with Different Humanities Subjects, No. 39, Isfahan: 2009, pp 68-71

prior to the formation of India and Aryan civilizations; because Indian and Aryan tribes stem from a common origin, and later they segregated.

It has long believed that there was Indus valley civilization in India is older to Aryan civilization, and after the settlement of Aryan a civilization took shape. However, the archeological discoveries in the recent decades have shown that there were more ancient civilizations than Aryan civilization in this region including Iilam civilization in Iran, and Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro civilizations in India.[1]

Study of the pottery in terms of patterns and technique is the best determining factor in establishing the relationships between civilizations in ancient times. For example, historians could establish this fact by investigating the deer image on the potteries of Silk, Mohenjo-Daro, Persian Gulf coasts, and Mesopotamia. Some potteries, which dated back to 5th and 6th millennium B.C, were found in Behbahan[2]. Some objects retrieved from Sind Valley indicate that there had been close affinity between this civilization and that of eastern parts of Iran plateau. For example, a make-up box containing an ear cleaning swap, bit, and tweezers, was found in Harappa. These objects were similar to what have been found in ancient Sumerian cities, Kish, and Khafaje. Through Sind River, Oman Sea, and Persian Gulf, Mohenjo-Daro civilization had marine connection with Ur, Kish, and perhaps Egypt. It might have connected to Iilam, and internal parts of Iran Plateau through Baluchistan.[3]

Unlike what have been believed, the relationship of Iran and India did not started during Aryan period, but it had been deteriorated during this period. Although the ties between these two regions were not what have been thought during Aryan period, the written and non-written evidence of this era indicates that there had been some signs of solidarity, familiarity, and relationship between them. The study of Rig Veda chants and

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[1] . Halide and Goetz, *Indian and Iranian Art and India and Islam* ,p11

[2]. Yektaee, *Introduction of Iranian and Islamic Culture and Civilization to India and Pakistan*, p 48

[3] .Ibid, pp 123-5

Avesta's Gats highlights the fact that Vedic religion of Indian Aryans and Zoroastrian religion of Iranians had the same root. Researchers hold that Vedas' language construction was more like Avesta than Sanskrit literary roots. This language affinity led some researchers to believe that Iranians played a crucial role in information of Rig Veda which is Aryan's most ancient written remnant. Perhaps this common ground was paved when Iranians and Indian lived together.

Another factor in determining and recognizing Iran and India relationship in this period is the mythological study and contemplation of these countries. This is indicative of primary relationships and secondary differences. A mythological figure with the same name but with different characteristics reveals the common primary root and secondary difference. For example, in Iranian mythology, Div (devil) is considered a vicious and anti-lightness figure while it is a holy and revered figure in India. This shows that both of them recognized it as a figure, but later their views differed from each other. These factors proved that these tribes were separated from their original land, which was probably the eastern part of Iran, and settled either in Iran and India.[1]

There is not much information available about relations between Iran and India in the time of Maads. Therefore we have to consider the relations in Hekhamaneshi era.

India had been known to Hekhamaneshis from the beginning to such an extent that Cyrus extended his conquests to India. The inscriptions found in this era had recorded the relationship between these two nations in the best way. The name "India" mentioned in these inscriptions reveals commercial and military significance of this nation for Hekhamaneshis.

The effects of Hekhamaneshis on Indian civilization (Maurye) are so extensive that some researchers have called Indians the true heirs of Hekhamaneshi Empire.

[1] . Hekmat, *The Land of India*, pp78-81

On some pillars of Perspolis there are statues of kneeling bulls, samples of which could be seen on pillars of Ashoka Palace from Maury dynasty. Most statues here (In India) are in the shape of horse, lion and elephant.

Among the other proofs of relationship between these two ancient Aryan nations are the pillars attributed to Ashoka (Mauran King) which were posted around his country with his will written on them.

Researchers have proved that construction of united stone pillars was not originated from India and this art or custom had been invented in the city of "Pasargad" and that the great emperor had sampled this custom (or art) in India. It is supposed that after death of Alexander and decline of Seleucids when "Chandra Gupta" extended his kingdom to borders of Iran, Afghanistan and Baluchistan, in contact with Iranians he adopted Iranian thought, art and culture. Construction of united stone pillars also had been adopted by him. While Iran was in chaos and destruction by tribal kingdoms and Ashkanians, groups of manufacturers and artists of Hekhamaneshi era continuously took refuge in Indian kingdoms and revealed their arts in Indian courts to the point of teaching their art, profession and industry to Indians in the India, on the banks of Ganges and in the court of the Mauryas .

The city of Patali Putra located in present Patna, capital of Chandra Gupta's kingdom from Maury dynasty (322 B.C) had been a prolific city. And the Greek explorer, Megasthen, has left a comprehensive description of his court. In Gupta's court some important architectural items have been excavated which are exactly like Hekhamaneshi architecture. During the excavation in 1896A.D in the remains of that city a one hundred-pillar building was found which had halls of Hekhamaneshi architectural style. After this excavation completed in 1912 A.D, another hall was discovered which included 80 stone pillars. This hall included remains of polished united pillars similar to that of Apadana in Perspolis.

It's important to know that the custom of inscription writing and delicate carving in caves first emerged in Iran, because before the time of Ashoka there were no records of them in India. It had been in the first millennium B.C that members of this Aryan nation left

carvings, made decorations and carved pillars out of stone in caves. Ashoka followed these samples in Gaya Mountains in Bihar State. While Darius the First in writing his famous inscription sampled that of Ashoka in 250 B.C and made some changes in it according to Indian taste.

Eventually, there is no doubt that Indian kings in Maury dynasty and afterwards followed Hekhamaneshi architecture style. Unique works discovered in both nations prove that they have utilized and shared each other's arts.

Furthermore, in the book A-vista the name of India is mentioned and also in Rig-Veda the name of Iran could be seen. Cyrus and then Darius according to historical documents have claimed that northwest of India (Kabul and Lahore) belonged to their territory.

Historians have called this period "Zara –tosh-tey". Herodotus -the Greek historian- has mentioned India and has written about the tax that received to Darius's treasure house from India. The tax which they paid was more than taxes paid by other governments. They paid 600 Qantars a year (one million Liras) to Iranian kingdom. He also says that a large number of Indian troops armed with elephants, horses and carts served in the army of Iranian Kingdom.

Before decline of Hekhamaneshi civilization by Greeks, artists, scientists and men of culture from Iran came to India and originated significant artistic works so that in the following generations the effects of their works were considerable in all styles of art, science and industry.[1]

4-2- Relations between Iran and India in Ashkani and Sassanid Era

In excavations made in Behanpor city (close to Karachi) coins and pottery works of Ashkani were discovered which reveal close ties between these two regions. In Taxila (in Northwestern India) structure of a Partian temple shows a combination of forms of an

[1] . Hekmat, *The Land of India*, pp 211-224

Iranian fire temple. Also a collection of buildings which were discovered by Hertsfeld in Khaje Mountain in Sistan is similar to Buda temples in India.[1]

Relationship between two nations in Sassanid era is considered the closest relationship of the nations before Islam. There are no records of war and Iranian conquest of India in this era. The relationship constitutes a series of amicable commercial, political and scientific ties. For example when Shapor the First, son of Ardashir, came to throne took scientific books of medicine, astronomy and logic from India and Greece and added them to the book of religion.[2]

According to Ferdousi Toosi in *Shahnama*, Bahram Goor (Sassanid King) who was a man of entertainment, hunting, music, etc. requested Shengel (Indian King) to send 10,000 singers and musicians to Iran so that they teach Indian songs, ballads and playing of their instruments to Iranians.

Anooshirvan sent a physician called Borzouye to India to find a plant for life-medicine, but he couldn't find the plant and instead of the plant took the book *Panchatantra* to Iran, because he found that science is the only thing which made life longer in India and life-medicine does not exist at all. This book was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi and from Pahlavi into Arabic and later from Arabic into Farsi and was known after the name of its two heroes *Kelile and Demne*.

Among the carvings in caves of Chanta there is one carving that shows Khosrow Parviz's messenger. This messenger came to India in reply to the messenger that Pulakesi the

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[1] . Prada, Aidet. *The Art of Ancient Iran*, Tehran: 1979, p 286

[2] . Christine San, Arthur .*Iran in Sassanid Period*, Trans. Rashid Yasami, Tehran: 1973, pp 26-27.

Second from Chalukya dynasty had sent to Iran. In this carving which pictures the public court all clothes is Sassanid. [1]

4-3- Relations between Iran and India in Islamic Era

Islam has spread to India and the present Middle East countries through Iran. The subcontinent was subject to Muslims consideration from the beginning of Islam. For the first time, under the rule of Caliph Ottoman (644-656 B.C), a Muslim leader, Abdullah bin Jabal Alabdi was sent to India to collect information about Sind. Later in the time of Caliph Ali (660 B.C) Hares bin Marrah Alabdi and then in the time of Mo'avie bin Abosofyan (665 B.C) Mohlab bin Abi Safreh attacked India through Makkoran but these attacks were not serious because Arab invaders of that time did not have enough instruments to conquer India. Eventually in the time of Valid bin Malik Omavi (718 B.C), Muhammad bin Ghasim Saghafi attacked India through Shiraz and Makkoran and conquered whole Sind and brought it under the rule of Omavi Caliphate. It seems that after the wars a lot of Arab and Iranian warriors settled there and commercial relationship between India and Islamic countries including Iran started to develop.[2]

However, it is believed that after these attacks, progress of Muslims in India was stopped in the time of Naser Alddin Saboktekin (978-998 B.C) and his son Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi i.e. three centuries, but there is no doubt that commercial and cultural ties between them never stopped.[3]

Relationship between India and Iran developed in the fourth century by the attacks of Ghaznavis. Of course it's clear that we do not regard war between two nations as relationship, what we mean are the cultural and social results that two nations gained during war. For example in different attacks of Mahmood Ghaznavi to India which were

[1] . Kavosji, Firouz. *Davar of Iran and India,* Trans. Mehdi Gharvi, Yadnameh Korush, Tehran: 1972, pp 59-60

[2] . Ershad, *Historical Immigration of Iranians to Indi*, p 97

[3] .Ibid, p 123

mostly because of booty, Iranians learned to utilize elephant in transportation, ceremonies and in war to the point that there was an elephant barn in Ghaznis where thousands of elephants could be placed in and a group of Indians settled in Ghazni were responsible to take care of them. Commander of this group was called Moghadam of Elephant Keepers which was a rank.[1]

On the other side, a lot of Sultan Mahmood's soldiers remained in India and in this way they not only learned Indian culture but also spread Iranian customs and traditions.

Among the other consequences of Sultan Mahmood's attacks is traveling to India made by men of science and spreading Islamic-Iranian knowledge there. It is said that Aboreihan Birooni accompanied Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi in many wars and stayed in India for years which resulted in writing the book *Research of Malalhind*. It is considered a significant book and the first one in its type. From other consequences familiarity of Indians with Islamic-Iranian arts especially architecture could be mentioned.

After Ghaznavis' attacks to India commercial ties between two nations remained and India was never attacked by Iran as it had been by Mahmood.

Genghis attack to Iran opened a new chapter of relations between Iran and India. It caused lots of scholars and scientists to set off for India to save them from Genghis army. Menhaj Seraj Aldin Jozjani is one of these scholars. In India he wrote the book *Tabaghate Naseri* about history of India. As a result of immigration of Iranian artists and manufacturers to India Iranian culture and art spread in India. Some years after the attacks when peace settled in the region commercial dealings of two countries restarted and it was clear that at that time, like previous periods, merchandise in India was of significant importance due to various products of this country.[2]

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1 . Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. *History of Qaznavids*, Trans. Hassan Anoushe, Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1994, p 116

2 . Ershad, Historical *Immigration of Iranians to Indi*, p 116

4-4- Study the Art of the Iranian Painting during Safavid Dynasty

Safavid dynasty is one of the most interested Iran art periods after Islam. Shah Ismail founded Safavid dynasty in 1502 A.D. Industrial and art centers were promoted and increased during this period. First, Tabriz was the capital of this dynasty; for this reason, Tabriz became a center for artists activates such as calligraphy, gild, painting and book binding and also artists of other industries and technologies. Some were working in textile and drapery industries. Therefore, this study focuses on Qazvin, Tabriz and Isfahan's painting schools during this dynasty

In spite of historical limitations on painting, which were important factors in depression of this art, it again started growing and developing as Safavid kings came to rule Iran. Shah Ismail and shah Tahmasb easily controlled people's thought by combining religion problems. Therefore, growth and development of painting at that time was based on mystical so that the art and the artist were treated with more value and respect. By passing of time, these ideas lost their values. The Then ruling Shah Abbas Safavid come into contact with other neighboring countries and European nations, led to change the significance of art. With intercourse to realism, a two head art appeared in which elements of Europe were more highlighted in that.

Prosperous period of painting in Iran was the result of correct innovations and adoptions which in spite of external affects, can be a kind of internal connection with the changes in historical painting in Iran.

1- **Schools of Art during Safavid Dynasty**

Iranian painting at that period has transferred its experiences to Indian through wide migration of painters. To understand better the situation of Iranian painting at that time and also to understand changes and varying of them the Safavid's painting has been studied separately in three periods.

1-1 First Half of the Tenth Century (Tabriz School)

Shah Ismail I annexed Herat to his properties after prevailing over the Timurids. After some time, the artists of Herat such as: Kamaladin Behzad moved to Tabriz. All these led to setting up a new school, which included the best calligraphers and painters. And they had been selected from the artists of Herat. In fact the city of Herat was one of the biggest centers for painting in Iran during Timurids. But in the tenth century, after subjugating it by Safavids, its artists migrated to three regions. Some of them migrated to India, some to Tabriz, capital of Safavids, and some others to Bokhara, capital of Shibanian.

Actually we can't say in which year Behzad and other artists of Herat have moved to Tabriz. According to most of the researchers with reference to Mostafa Ali, Turk’s historiographer, in 1514 A.D. during Chaldoran war between shah Ismail and shah Salim, Behzad was in Tabriz. Another hypothesis claimed that Tahmasb Mirza son of Shah Ismail had spent his childhood in Herat and while coming to his father in capital (Tabriz) has brought Herat’s artists along with Behzad.

Depicting books such as: the complete works of Hafez, Firdosi's Shahnama, Nezami’s pentad and … continued. In total, the main characteristics of this school are: coordination of view and architecture, drawing nature of life along with details, fill the whole books with pictures and developing pictures from down to up. In spite of whatever, which were noticed in Herat (focusing all factors of picture to show human), the situation in this school was something different. In this period general form of scene according to subject was diversifies. Also drawing clothes, turbans and caps were according to the common traditions of that time.

Furthermore, in Tabriz school, especial attention had been paid to building’s decorations like tile designs, floor bricking, and inscriptions. Also margins which involve painting were considerable characters of this period. Amir Ali Shirnavaie’s Divan was one of the primary pictured books created by Herat’s artists in Tabriz. This copy is kept in Paris library. It has been written in 1528 A.D., and most probably in Tabriz by Behzad and was pictured by his student. The probability of its pictures in Herat is less.

Another precious and fine arts of this period is a copy of Nezami's pentad which has been written and pictured for Shah Tahmasb. This book was teaching in Tabriz by Shah Mahmud Nishabori during 1539-1543 A.D.

Shahname's Shah Tahmasb was another important art pictured in that period. Writing this Shahname was started by ordering Shah Ismail for his sun Shah Tahmasb. But after his death and during Shah Tahmasb it was finished. This work with more than 250 pictures, according to Roger Savory is a mobile museum. And it is because it has been created by famous artists at that time. This copy was finished between 1538 and 1543 A.D. In the pictures of this book, paintings of the late ninth century can be observed. Some of them have traditional root and some others have influenced by Behzad's method. Its pictures have no signature, but the writing of the painters of Tabriz such as: Sultan Mohammad, Mir Mosavar, Agha Mirak, Mirza Ali, Mozafar Ali, Mir Saied Ali, Abdul Aziz, Sheikh Mohammad, Dos Mohammad and Khaje Abdul Sam ad can be recognized in painting of the book.

The importance of this work mostly is because of its art of writing elegantly. Almost all the characters of Iranian painting are in these. Reducing world of three dimensions to two dimensions and to reap the benefit of different plans to avoid its problems, professional application of rhythmic colors, and filling each centimeter with birds, animals, trees and decorate lines show a forward movement in art of painting.

One of the important events, which took place during Shah Tahmasb, was asylum of Humayun Indian Shah to Iran. Moreover, it influenced a lot on art especially on Iranian and Indian painting. Another important event was shifting the capital from Tabriz to Ghazvin. This shift had basic effect on Iranian painting.[1]

1-2 Second Half of the Tenth Century (Ghazvin School)

Because of war between Osmania and Safavid, Shah Tahmasb changed the capital from Tabriz to Ghazvin. Unfortunately disinterestedness of shah Tahmasb in 1557A.D regarding to Painting tended to hate of it, it means he ordered to forbidden nonreligious

[1]. Soudavar, Abul-Ala. "Painting in Safavid Period'', Trans. Mehdi Husseini, Art Seasonal, No. 29, 1996, pp,41-9

arts in his territory. So that most of the artists either immigrated to India through sea or went to court of niece of Tahmasb, Sultan Ibrahim Mirza in Mashhad. Basically drawing picture at shah Tahmasb’s age was hoot to shah and could make problem for the painter. At the end of shah Tahmasb’s life, he reduced his abhorrence toward decorative arts specially painting. In 1550A.D while he changed the capital from Tabriz to Ghazvin again he welcomed artist, as a result, some of the famous artist gathered in Ghazvin.

We should notice that Humayun, the Indian Shah, had been forced to asylum to Iran only because of defeat from Sher Shah Afghani. During the year of his being in Iran, he had got accustomed to Iranian painting, Humayun even succeed in getting permission of Ali Tabrizi and Abd-al-samad Shirazi in order to accompany him for going to Kabul. Therefore, these two artists as a head of the Iranian painters traveled. While Shah Tahmasb refused to protect painters in Ghazvin, therefore, large number of them migrated to India, a immigration which influenced deeply on the Indian and Iranian paintings. One of them was performing school of Indian and Iranian painting in India.

In Ghazvin especially in the beginning years, this school was following Tabriz’s methods. But totally at the later years of shah Tahmasb, Iranian painting faced some changes related to Tabriz school. At the end of this age, turbans were gradually become bigger and bigger and suddenly it became very big and huge but caps substituted it. Especially a soft cap with skin margin and an abnormal cap that had a sharp peck in front and from the back became popular. Another important character of painting in this period was freedom of painters in drawing individual pictures and separate from text book.

We should notice a point that pictured Iranian old books such as: the complete works of Hafez, Firdausi's Shah Name, Nezami’s pentad and so on in Ghazvin continued but in a smaller scale. But these copies and their paintings did not have the same quality and accuracy of the Timur's period and even Tabriz school. These paintings had mostly less quality and imitation. The accurate colors transferred to mate color. Golden colors were rarely used, and drawings were careless.

We mentioned above that after ignoring art by shah Tahmasb, artists moved to some other places where their works could be appreciated. One of these places was Mashhad, where Ibrahim Mirza young niece of shah Tahmasb, was resident. He took many of

painters and choreographs from Tabriz and Herat and other cities of Iran to Mashad. His workshop was set up for 20 years, it means till 1574 A.D.

One of the best works that had been done there was a copy of Haft Orange Jami. This work was finished in 1565 A.D. and shows different steps of Mashhad's pictures. Precisely, it shows different steps of pictured art in Mashhad. The writing of this book was the responsibility of famous calligraphers such as: Mohammad Nishaboori, Rostam Ali and Moheb Ali. This book includes 28 pictures without signature. But the hand writing of Mirza Ali, Mozafar Ali, Shaikh Mohammad and Agha Mirak in most of the pictures have been distinguished. Most probably Mirak's work has been sent from Ghazvin to Mashhad, but others were from Mashhad.[1]

1-3 Eleventh Century (Isfahan School)

After death of shah Ismail II in 1577 A.D. till ruling shah Abbas I, almost 10 years, the political situation of Iran was disrupted and distressed. During this time, Mohammad Khodabande was ruling the country. After him, shah Abbas ruled for 16 years. One of his objectives was to avoid of disruption country and shifting the capital from Ghazvin to Isfahan in 1587 A.D. Changing the capital to Isfahan led to important transitions in the form and contents of art, which most of them have had been influenced through European art.

Day by day Isfahan became a symbol of the political power and stability in Iran. In spite of disturbances and rebellions of Uzbeks and the Ottoman Empire, he did not avoid protecting artists and architect and with the help of artists and architect. He set up big and beautiful mosques and buildings. Therefore, Isfahan not even became the capital but also became a center for trade and a symbol of new society in Iran.

At that time basic changes happened in the Iranian painting and artists obtained more freedom as compared to before. It moved further up the framework, subjects of previous artists. Painting moved out from the books and circulated in one page. Most of the subjects of these painters were painting traditional life of people and courtiers and

[1] . Savory, *Iran under the Safavid Era*, pp 108-115

painting those who had sumptuous and colored dress. Furthermore, tool post became very important during this time.[1]

In the Isfahan school because of more attention being paid by artists to individual portrait and the old style which including many people because outmoded. At the end of the sixteen century the effects of European art on the Iranian painting had emerged. The individual painting, using shadow, following perspective and paintings of varnish were some of the influences of European art on Iranian art.

At that time oil color came to Iran. On other hand, there was a suitable opportunity to mix European art with the Eastern traditional art. In this period of time, orders and art works were not restricted only to the court, but also traders were ordering for art workers. Therefore, artist made his work according to the purchasing power of customers. Influences of European painting can be distinguished by some changes such as: naturalism, attempt to show the effects of shadow and similarity.

In total, Isfahan school can be divided into two groups as follow:

- Using epistle which was following Ghazvin School. Some of the artists are Reza Abbasi, Mohammad Moien Mosavar and others.
- Europeanism, which was European painting the representation of Europeanism, was Mohammad Zaman. The attempt of this group was to combine Iranian and European traditions together.[2]

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[1] . Taheri, Abul-Qasem, *Political and Social History of Iran from Temur's Death to that of King Abbas,* Tehran: Pocket Books Co, 1973, p287

[2] . Lawrence, Bunion. *Progression of Iranian Painting History,* Trans. Muhammad Iran Manesh, Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1982, p 136

4-5- Remains of wall Paintings from Safavid Period

Wall paintings of 17th century's architecture can be divided in terms of their preserving conditions:

1. The wall paintings which were ruined during the course of centuries; and we have come to be aware of their existence through texts, books, paintings, and images. Holester's pictures and Yuzekchian's descriptions of the buildings lend us evidences about the copiousness of the artworks such as Armenian merchants' houses or many palaces.
2. Remaining wall paintings which are three types in terms of conditions:

   • Wall paintings which were repaired and reconstructed during the centuries; even they were painted on main painting such as wall paintings of Vanak church and Aalighapou.

   • Wall paintings which have been preserved in a relatively proper condition like Mary's Church. (Appendix, figure 47)

   • Wall papers which are being threatened seriously like Bitullahm's and most of the houses in Jolfa and Isfahan.
3. Wall paintings which have been hidden under additional layers, such as the wall paintings of St. Serkis Church which has recently been layer plastered.

Study of the Wall Paintings of Jolfa and Isfahan

Since the wall paintings of the Safavid era are accessible in the palaces of Isfahan and churches and residential houses of Jolfa, the study is limited to wall paintings of Chelsotoon and Sukusian's houses.

These two architectural works are chosen for the following reasons:

Since palace was the symbol of power of the court, it is crystal clear that artistic taste and decorum is meticulously applied.

Due to the new situation encountered by Armenians in Jolfa, church plays a crucial role in organizing Armenian community. The opulent Armenian merchants also get the opportunity of exerting their economical and social power in constructing the churches. This class of society ornaments their houses by wall paintings and architectural embellishments.[1]

Coneill Le Bruin not only describes churches and different places of Jolfa, but he also details completely residential houses of Khajes. According to him, the most important of them was Khaje Minas's house; the ceiling is completely covered with gold, the walls were covered with mirror works, the floor is divided into four sections in the center of each a star or a golden flower was carved. The parapets were covered with marble and on the both sides of the parapets there were niches which were ornamented.[2]

The selected wall paintings for the study are the followings:

Chelsotoon Palace

• Shah Abbas I receiving the ruler of Turkistan Vali Mohammad Khan (Appendix, figure 48)

• Shah Ismail I fighting Uzbeks (Appendix, figure 49)

• Shah Abbas being received (Appendix, figure 50)

• Single figures and lover and beloved of Chelsotoon (Appendix, figure 51)

Sukiasian's House

• Lover and beloved (Appendix, figure 52)

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[1] . Erabi, Hashemi, Shokouh-os- Sadat. "Formation and Development of New Jolfa in Safavid Era",Isfahan: No. 14, 2000, pp 60-71

2.Ibid,p 76

• Single figure of a man (Appendix, figure 53)

• Reception Ceremony (Appendix, figure 54)

Chelsotoon Palace

Construction of Chelsotoon was started during Shah Abbas I’s period and finished during Shah Abbas II’s reign in 1647. It is 2120 square meter in area and was built in a 67,000 square meter garden. During Shah Abbas’s reign, it underwent overall change.

It was seriously damaged by the 1705A.D fire; however, it was reconstructed fundamentally one year later. Thus, it does not belong to a specific era. Nevertheless, Aalighapu edifice shows that the Safavid palaces were continuously reconstructed and developed.

This palace has mirror work, tore, and wall paintings. There are discrepancies among the wall paintings in terms of style and subject; and their completion probably lasted longer than what was expected. It seems that most of the small paintings belong to the last decade of 1641A.D.

In the central saloon of the palace there are six big paintings which are the focal display of the main hall. There are also four Safavid period paintings and two additional Ghajar period paintings.

Totally different style is used for the big historical wall paintings in the main hall. Three paintings of the hall show the safavid shahs receiving their eastern Moslem neighbors:

Shah Tahmasb I receiving Humayun the shah of Hindustan

Shah Abbas I receiving Vali Mohammad Khan the ruler of Turkistan (the ruler of Bukhara from 1605 to 1608A.D)

Shah Abbas II receiving Neder Shah of Uzbekistan

And battle of Shah Ismail I with Uzbeks, as the fourth Safavid work

At the bottom of these paintings there is row containing separate picture frames of the lover and beloved common to Safavid painting.

The northern room of the building is embellished with the scenes which contain recreational subject. These pictures show the impacts of Reza Abbasi's style.

In the southern room there are paintings adapted from literature. They are colorfully framed in flower and plant designs. They resemble the hanging paintings on the walls. The scenes which are inspired by Persian literature are Khosro va Shireen, Yusef va Zoleykha, and the one known as Charshanbe Soori. However, the Indian subject is affected by the art of India. It seems that its image-making creates a balance against the courtiers' merry-making scenes which is depicted in the opposite room.[1]

Shah Abbas I Receiving Vali Mohammad Khan the Ruler of Turkistan

Shah Abbas I receiving Vali Mohammad Khan the ruler of Turkistan (the ruler of Bukhara from 1605 to 1608A.D)

Vali Mohammad Khan came to power; he was defeated after a while by his nephew and headed toward Marv. Khan Uzbek informed Shah Abbas Safavid who invited him to Isfahan because he wanted to go to Iraq. The reception ceremony and other formalities were performed nicely.

Four Safavid oil color paintings have great historical-political value. Not only they are indicative of the aesthetic value of this period, but they also show the way of reception, place and power of shah, separation of characters according their social ranks and status, clothing, potteries, and the common meals served in these receptions. The selected subjects were in line in the function of the building; even it can be said that this work is a kind of documentation.

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[1] . Akbari Zadegan, Norouz. "Paintings on the Wall of Chehel Sotoun and School of Safavid Period", Isfahan: No. 13, 2000, pp 98-109

Difference in the type of clothing and the way of reception in this work with the two other reception paintings indicates the evolution of tastes in this period.

On the whole, embellishment is transparent in clothes, carpets, and so forth. The empty spaces are filled with embellishments.

The painting spaces have got opened; and in the background a door is opened and a figure enters the space dimension.

The paintings of the first period of Safavid era was influenced by Herat school. But during Shah Abbas's period they were influenced by European painting because of using color paint; an artist was inclined from subjectivity toward naturalism, and shading and single figures were becoming prevalent.

The main theme of the work of painters is the king himself; therefore, the painter tries to convey his might and importance in his work.

The painter has artistically matched the painting patterns with the architectural features in such a way that the selected pattern is a horizontal rectangular. However, because of the windows, the middle of the patterns is higher.

The painter was able to produce beautiful combinations and by using traditional art, tried to implement changes in the sizes of the important figures based on their ranks and status, to show respect to them.

The king has such a place in the painting that the viewer will notice him at the first glance.[1]

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[1] . Falsafi, Nasrollah., *Life of King Abbas I.* Vol. 5, Tehran: Elmi Press, 5th ed., 1993, pp 56-65

Shah Ismail in his war with the Uzbeks

One of the old customs of Iranian kings was to show off their victories to others.

The war of Shah Ismail Safavid, the first, with Salim Khan, the Ottoman king, was a good theme for showing the victory of Iranian troops that were equipped with cold weapons on Ottoman's troops that were equipped with fire arms. The heroin the picture is the king. In the selection of color the painter paid more attention on the purity and shining of each color.

One striking feature of the picture is the use of the conventional colors for showing the sky, and showing the separation and distance between the people of high and low social status.[1]

Reception of Shah Abbas I

This picture shows the significance and might of Shah Abbas. The direction of the king's look and his stature leaves a deep feeling in the viewers. There are drinkers and embellishing paintings in the background. The paintings mostly show the king and courtiers. The paintings have a tendency towards having more ambience of the court either in public places such as the Qaisaria Gate or in palaces. The paintings also show the king in drinking ceremonies, in hunting, or in interior.

These works were affected by the Iranian traditional painting and the eastern art. Royalty to quality technical work and having a poetic feeling and abstention from the evil are the characteristics of Iranian paintings.[2]

[1] . Kenbai, Chiller. *Iranian Painting*, Trans. Mehdi husseini, Tehran: 2000, pp 378-83

[2] . Falsafi, *Life of King Abbas I, p 103*

Single figures and the lover and beloved of Chelesotoon

In the main auditorium of Chehelsotoon there are as many as 32 paintings in one row with themes of male or female single figures or lover and beloved.

The main feature of Isfahani School is the interest of the artist in showing the movement of figures. Faces are shown in three visages with almond eyes, long eye brows, small lips, sharp noses, and full cheeks which are the criterion of beauty in Safavid era. There is a feeling of weight and balance between the lines.

According to the written references the walls of palaces and auditorium were decorated with wall paintings of religious themes. However, there are no live examples of them.

Houses, palaces, and church in Nakhjavan, were decorated with wall paintings and ornamental paintings. One of the pieces of poetry describing the compulsory migration of Armenians by Shah Abbas details this monument.[1]

The house of Sukiassian belongs to the Safavid era.

In the porch there are wall paintings with scenes of reception and single figures. In the low row there are scenes of daily life. In the central auditorium, in addition to the above mentioned themes there were paintings with a Safavid era lover-beloved relationship.

The Wall Paintings of Sukiasian's House

Courtier sculpture was the first experience of westernization, which paved the way for blossoming of this school in the late 18th century especially during the reign of Fathalishah (1797-1834A.D). Westernization caused a rift which is neither completely European nor completely Iranian.

In Isfahan painting, the back-side perspective of the scene is planned with a hanging curtain, but in Jolfa painting, it was planned with a natural landscape.

[1] . Akbari Zadegan"Paintings on the Wall of Chehel Sotoun and School of Safavid Period", p 120

The Jolfa artist's attempt for natural depiction of facial expression as well as following the conventional expression led the figures to adopt more formal expression in Sukasian's house.

Lover and Beloved

The prevalent subjects of the Safavid era were lover and beloved. In this picture the impact of Isfahan school is clear, but the cultural differences are seen comparing them to Isfahan paintings. The sitting woman's figure on the chair, dress and its adornments, the way of reception, and the lover's treatment of the beloved are indicative of these discrepancies.[1]

4-6 study the causes of painter's immigration to India and introducing migrant painters

After being defeated by Sher shah Afghan and lack of assistance from his brothers, Humayun left India and took refuge in Iran. He stayed in Iran for one year and could regain his throne by Shah Tahmasb's help. Humayun's journey to Iran was very crucial in terms of art especially painting aside from its social and political importance between two countries. He got to know Iranian art about which he had some acquaintance from his ancestors, and his interest in Iranian art augmented. Behzad was a very famous artist for Timaurian dynasty; therefore, he attempted at collecting his artworks, and encouraged his disciples to go to India. He tried to pay one thousand toman to Shah Tahmasb to get his consent to take Mir Mossavar with him. His initial attempt was a failure. However, Humayun was very persistent in taking Behzad's students to India so that he could spread his painting style in his territories after regaining them. At last, during his sojourn in Tabriz and on his way to India, he got the consents of Mir Seyyed Ali, Mir Mossavar's son, Abd-al-samad Shirazi, and some other Iranian artists in joining him. They both joined him in Kabul after he left Iran for four years. Immigration of these two artists was

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[1] . Darhohanian, Haroton. *History of Isfahan Jolfa*, Trans. Minasian and Mosavi Feridoni, Isfahan: 2001, pp 247-52

the start of other immigrations, which in turn, led to the formation of Indian-Iranian painting school in India.

In this section, we try to study the causes of Iranian artists' immigration to India. Here one question is raised: why did the Iranian artists leave their ancestral land by Humayun's invitation? And why did it continue after the first one? Was not Iran a suitable place for artwork? Or a more appropriate place was emerged in India for these artists? We continue the discussion by another question: why, and under what circumstances does the immigration phenomenon happen in a society?

Immigration of every individual, as a member of a society, depends on various factors which have their roots in economical, social, political, and cultural situations. We cannot appreciate the concept of immigration without bearing these factors in mind. In other words, difference of lifestyles in different environments encourages people to immigrate in the hopes of better life or escaping from improper conditions.[1]

Generally, immigration is divided into two types: group and individual. Of course, the causes and reasons for group immigration are different from individual immigration, because the group immigration is brought about by internal expelling factors. These factors can be religious or historical differences, and improper economical and political situations. But, individual immigration is rooted in external factors, and the attractions which encourage the individual to immigrate. However, in some cases, internal factors might be influential. In other words, group immigration of particular ethnicities is compelling. Nevertheless, it is external attractions and motivations that make people to attempt individual immigration and leave their motherland. On the whole, three factors are influential in immigration phenomenon:

1. The current situation in which an individual lives.
2. The situation in which an individual chooses to live.

[1] . Ershad, *Historical Immigration of Iranians to India*, pp 1-3

3. Social status of the immigrant individual or people, which encourages them to immigrate.

Three factors play crucial role in the immigration of Iranian artists to India (during Safavid period), which are explained below:

1. The existing situation in Iran which caused the immigration of artists to India.

a) Lack of Safavid kings' interest in painting in comparison to Mughal kings.

Because of the use of expensive materials in Iranian painting, it required a wealthy sponsor who can pay for the expenses. That is why, as soon as Shah Tahmasb and other Safavid kings stopped supporting Iranian painters, they chose less expensive means, and moved to places (like India) where they could be supported.[1]

In the final years of his reign, Shah Tahmasb lost interest in painting due to religious inclinations, and political entanglements, and thus, he ceased sponsoring the painters. This coincided with the enthronement of Mughal kings in India. They were interested in Iranian culture and art, and they were ready to tip a painter one thousand tomans. Consequently, when the Iranian artists especially the painters, found out that Iran is not a suitable place for their work, they moved to India where they were supported. [2]

Another instance of Safavid kings' disinterest in art and artists was the story of the eminent calligrapher of Safavid period, Mir Emad, whom Shah Abbas killed for being a Sunni by unreasonable excuses, and Alireza Abbasi's, another court calligrapher, treachery[3]. Hearing the incident, Jahangir became very sad, and said that if Shah Abbas had given him Mir Emad, he would have offered him gold, equivalent to his weight.

[1] . Lawrence, *Progression of Iranian Painting History* ,pp 301-5

[2] . Bahar, Mohammad Taghi. *Study of Styles*, Vol. 3, Tehran: Tous Press, 2002, pp 256-257

[3] . Biani, Mehdi. *Lives and Works of Calligraphers,*Vol. 2, Tehran: 1967, p 526

Abdulrashid Deilami, his disciple, and his niece fled to India after three months of living in hid-outs and destitute. He was offered nice positions, like being the head of Shah Jahan's library. Two other of Mir Emad's disciples, Seyyed Ali Tabrizi and Khaje Abdulbaghi, also fled to India fearing the same fate, and they were entitled "Javaher Ghalam" and Yaghoot Ghalam".

All the aforementioned cases indicate Safavid kings' lack of interest in art especially painting. Safavid rulers were mostly entangled in economical and political issues. If there was some growth and development in architecture, it was due to its profitability in buildings. That is why when they were mistreated by Safavid kings, Iranian artists headed to India where the market for art especially painting was more suitable. Since Mughal dynasty considered Iran as their second homeland, they were interested in its culture and art, and welcomed Iranian artists with open arms. Because cherishing art and artists entailed social and political credibility for kings, Mughal kings did their best for attracting Iranian artists for emulating Iranian and Ottoman kings.

b) Those who had already immigrated to India

One of the internal factors which caused the immigration of Iranian artists to India was those who had already moved there. As soon as they heard that their compatriots could collect wealth and high status, Iranian artists were encouraged to immigrate to India. They hoped that they could get introduced to the Indian court and courtiers by those who could achieve courtly positions. Because one could not be accepted in the court unless, he had to be introduced and supported by one of the courtiers.[1]

Among the Iranians, there were those who moved to India against their will. These were the children of those who accompanied their parents to India. Although they were Iranians, they had not been in Iran or spent part of their childhood in Iran. For example, Abulhasan and Obidullah, Agha Reza's sons, moved to India with their father, and learned the art of painting from their father in India, and followed his style and even they could emulate him. Abulhasan was given the title of "Naderozzaman", and could achieve

[1] . Ershad, *Historical Immigration of Iranians to India*, pp 181-2

a stately position in India. He had almost no memories about Iran because he grew up in India.

2. The existing conditions in India because of which Iranians immigrated to.

As it was mentioned before, the individual or group immigration depends on internal and external factors. External factors are attractive and enticing. It was mostly due to proper conditions in India which encouraged the Iranians to leave their home country rather than internal factors. The conditions are the followings:

a) Reception of Iranians by Indian kings and courtiers

Although the kings and courtiers of India were considered Indian, they were culturally affiliated to Iran. At the early establishment of this dynasty, they attempted to promote Iranian art and culture. That is why Iranians were welcomed in their court, since they were thought to spread Iranian culture. One of the main reasons lurking behind the immigration of Iranians to India is the respect and reception of Mughals kings.

Attaining courtly offices and positions were other motivation for the immigration, because Iranian could practice their art and at the same time get wealthy. Iranian poets resided in India also confirmed this fact that India was the place of wealth, stately positions, and welfare.

b) Natural wealth and the possibility of trade in India

Iranians were quite aware of the natural wealth of India, and trade with India was very important for them in all eras. It was one of the factors in attracting Iranians to India. It could motivate Iranian artists to move there, and it happened that some of them sacrificed their art for business activities.[1]

c) Religious issues

Because of religious diversity, India is called the land of religions. That is why people of different faiths could live peacefully together. Religious laws and orders also facilitate

[1] . Hekmat, *The Land of India, pp 93-4*

this fact. For example, belief in Karma or Ahisma (refraining from doing harm to others especially strangers) was one of the reasons which made the immigrants to cohabit peacefully. All during the history, it was one of the features which encouraged Iranians to move to India whenever there were severe religious restrictions or discriminations. The examples are the immigration of Zoroastrians in the early Islamic period, and the immigration of Sunnis in the early Safavid period.[1] Religious freedom allowed them to live in India without any hassle, and nobody was killed for his religion.

In the aforementioned era, the immigration of Iranians to India was very common, because Iranians from any rank or class could move to India and reside there. It should not have any specific cause. For example, Urfi Shirazi moved to India because he had lost his beauty in youth due to smallpox. Another immigration motivation was tourist attractions of India. Due to diversity of sightseeing places, climate, and religions, India provided an ideal ground for those who were interested in traveling.

3. Conditions of an immigrant

As a populated country with different ethnicities, tribes, and caste system, India paved a fertile ground for migration. Each immigrant can find the people of his own social and cultural status, and cohabit peacefully. In other words, an immigrant has no worries about the people of his own social and economic situation. But in the period in question, Iranians with professional and artistic skills who had the hope of finding courtly positions moved to India. That is why, ordinary people who had no hope of joining the court or did not have enough money for business, were less inclined to go to India. Consequently, there had been migration flow of artists such as calligraphers, painters, poets, weavers, and so forth.

[1] . Afshar Yazdi, Mahmud. *Afghan Nameh*, Vol. 3, Tehran, 1983, p 110

Iranian Painters in India

When Humayun sought asylum in Iran, he could take with him some of the Iranian artists and painters including Seyyed Ali and Abd-al-samad Shirazi. Migration of these artists was the spark of ensuing migration of other Iranian artists to India. There are two general theories in this regard:

1. Some believe that when Humayun was returning, he took with him some of the Iranian artists and painters to India.

2. Some others believe that when he was returning to India, some Iranian painters and calligraphers promised to join him in India. Thus, they could join him after four years in Kabul.

However, there is a third theory: Humayun could take with him the artists who were less known, and the famous artists of the court were not allowed to leave Iran. And the figures like Seyyed Ali and Abd-al-samad left Iran after four years and probably they might have left their secretly. They were also accompanied by two other artists namely Khaje Momen Ghazvini, Shamseddin Kashani, and Mir Ghasem.[1]

Thus, we have got to know the theories about the immigration of the early Iranian artists to India. The painters who moved to India, and created artworks will be introduced. The works which they endeavored in India will be introduced and we refrain from introducing the works done in Iran.

1. Agha Reza

He is the son of Ali Asghar Kashani who is one of the painters of early 17th century in Iran.[2]Agha Reza was born in 1562A.D, and learned the art of painting from his father and Abd-al-samad Shirazi. As it was mentioned by Ghazi Ahmad Monshi Ghomi, he was at

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[1] . Hekmat, *The Land of India, pp 125-7*

[2] . Qazi Ahmad, Ghomi, *Garden of Art,* Ed, by Ahmad Soheili Khwansari, Tehran: Bunyad Farhang Iran, 1974, pp 149-151

the service of Shah Abbas's court in his youth. But because of association with wicked people, he quit painting and left the court. Therefore, he had to live in poverty. He decided to move to India in 1007A.D.[1] As soon as he arrived in India, he got the honor of meeting Shah Salim (Jahangir) who had established an art workshop. And probably he created his first work in India then.[2] According to his birth date, 1562A.D, and his arrival in India in 1599A.D, he was 37 years of age when he got to India. He also took his son, Abul- Hassan, with him.

Some of the researchers believe that Agha Reaz and Reza Abbasi are the same people due to the names. [3]While some others believe that Reza Abbasi, Agha Reza, and Reza Jahangir are different people. Historical documents indicate that Reza Abbasi and Agha Reza are different figures. In fact, they were at the service of Shah Abbas's court under the name of Reza. One of them, as it was mentioned before, severed himself from the court, and adopted the name Jahangir named after Jahangir Shah. Right at the same time, another Reza who was at Shah Abbas's service, got the title of Abbasi, as Reza Jahangiri could get it from Jahangir Shah. From then on, we come to know a painter under the name of Reza Abbasi. Unlike Reza Abbasi, Agha Reza's style is quite different and to a great extent Indian.[4] His alluring works before his journey to India indicate that he was the follower of Ustad Muhammadi and Abdussamad Shirazi. Nothing is known about the

[1] . Humayun Farokh, Rukn-ud-Din, "Artistic Background of Name-mate Artists Reza Abbasi, Reza Mosavar Kashi and Agha Reza Mosavar Herati", Tehran: Magazine of Art and Man, No. 158, p 28

[2] . Karim Zadeh Tabrizi, Muhammad Ali. *Lives and Works of Ancient Iranian Painters and Some Famous Indian and Ottoman Painters,* Tehran: 1998, p 201

[3] . Humayun Farokh, "Artistic Background of Name-mate Artists Reza Abbasi, Reza Mosavar Kashi and Agha Reza Mosavar Herati", p30

[4] . Khazaee, Muhammad. *Collection of Works by Great Iranian Painters and a study of Painting School since Moguls to End of Safavids,* Tehran: Artistic Section of Islamic Propagation Organization, 1990, p 28

date of his death. The only thing that is known based on his words on one of his painting done in 1621A.D is that he was 60 years of age. He probably died in India. [1]

2. Haji Madani

He was probably one of the Iranian painters of Shah Jahan and Darashkuh, and according to Karimzade Tabrizi, his style was Indo-Iranian. One of his famous paintings is Shah Jahan's wedding ceremony which has his signature.[2]

3. Hakim

He was a Turkmen painter who was at the service of Akbar Shah's court along with farukh Beig and died there.

4. Doost Mohammad—Maulana Dost

As an early Safavid painter, he is also known as Doost Mossavar and Dooste Divane.[3] It is believed that when Seyyed Ali and Abdussamad got into Humayun's service in 1549, he was with them. He participated in illustrating Amir Hamze's book of stories along with Mir Seyyed Ali and Abdussamad.[4] One of his paintings depicts Abulmaali sitting on the ground and writing a letter on his knee.[5]

[1]. Karim Zadeh Tabrizi, *Lives and Works of Ancient Iranian Painters and Some Famous Indian and Ottoman Painters* , p203

[2]. Gharavi, Mehdi. "Magic of Colors (3)", Tehran: Magazine of Art and Man, No. 146-147, 2007, p 32

[3]. Qazi Ahmad, *Garden of Art,* pp 135-37

[4]. Bayat, Bayazid. *About Humayun and Akbar,* ed. by Muhammad Hedayat Husseini, Bengal, 1941, p 66

5 .Karim Zadeh Tabrizi, *Lives and Works of Ancient Iranian Painters and Some Famous Indian and Ottoman Painters*, p175

4. Dulat

He is one of the painters whose identity is dubious. According to Dr. Gharavi [1]and Dr. Behnam,[2]he is an Iranian, and he was born in Iran. While, some including Mr. Karimzade Tabrizi believe that he was an Indian painter. Contrary to Karimzade's opinion, Dr. Ghorvi considers him an Iranian painter and said: "Sheikh Dulat Bozorg (Kalan) was one of the famous painters of Akbar school. He was a Muslim and Iranian. He had a great share in illustrating and gold embellishing of Nezami's book, Khamse, endeavored by Daison Prince".

In the introduction of the book, *Golestane Honar*, Dulat's name is mentioned as one of those who immigrated to India: "Agha Reza, Dulat, Mirza Gholam, Hashem, Mansoor, Ahmad Naghash, Gol Mohammad, Mohammad Moghim Mossavar, Maulana Ghatee Mojallad, and Mazhab left Iran and moved to India".Although many consider him an Iranian painter, he has to be regarded as an Indian painter according to his name. He did many paintings on the margins of *Moragha Gulshan*.

1. He painted Seyyed Hedayatollah's figure. He has a white turban, and a long Indian dress, touching his waist with his hands. In the margins of this work, there are different kinds of flowers and individuals.
2. His other works include the pictures in *Babername* in 1598A.D, *Nafahatolons* in 1604A.D, *and Akbarname* in 1605A.D, and Nezami's *Khamse*.
3. Picture of a dervish who is keeping his hand on his face, and a musician who is playing his instrument.

[1] . Gharavi, Mehdi. "Magic of Colors (7)", Tehran: Magazine of Art and Man, No. 151, 2007, p 14

[2] . Behnam, Eisa. "Dowlat the Iranian Painter in India", Magazine of Sokhan, No. 80, pp 936-943

4. Picture of a dark-faced man in white who is standing on his knees and painting in the last book of Nezami's *Khamse*.[1](Appendix, figure 55)

5. Salman

He is one of the anonymous Iranian painters who moved to India during Akbar's reign.

6. Salim Gholi

He was probably one of the Iranian painters who immigrated to India. Two of his paintings can be found in Soheili's *Anvar*. The first one is the picture of horse rider who has killed the hunter and the lion, and looks at their carcasses. The second one is the picture of a king who has a crown on his head and sat on the throne. The servants can also be seen.

7. Shah Mohammad

He is Mir Seyyed Ali's son and Mir Mossavar's grandson. He most probably moved to India in 1549 accompanying his father. After learning the art of painting from his father, he became one of the artists of Akbar's court. His name is mentioned in *Aine Akbari* as number 150th person of the court. His ranking shows that although he was Amir Seyyed Ali's apprentice and one the founders of Indo-Iranian school of painting, he could not get that much credit as his father. He was also masterful in calligraphy.

8. Sharif-- Mohammad Sharif—Sharif Khan

He is Abd-al-samad's son. Like Mohammad, he probably moved to India accompanying his father in 1558. His ranking was also 15th in *Ain-e- Akbari*, and this clarifies the fact that he was not as famous as his father. [2]He was one of the trustees and confidants of

[1] . Karim Zadeh Tabrizi, *Lives and Works of Ancient Iranian Painters and Some Famous Indian and Ottoman Painters*, pp177-78

[2] . Madeh Herati, Abul-Qasem, *Jahangir Nameh*, Mumbai: 1947, pp 9-12

Jahangir's court. He was appointed by him as Amir-Ul-Omara. He illustrated the book *Nalavedamaniti*, an Indian myth. He painted the Jahangir's hunting scene in which Jahangir along with his companions is hunting in a mountainous region, and in the margin, an old man is aiming his gun at some foxes. The margins also involve skillful embellishment. He painted the picture of a camel which has failed to resist his owner's lashes. He is very furious, wearing an Indian dress, and holding a lash. Sharif's signature can be seen under this painting.

9. Shafii Abbasi

Artists believe that he is Reza Abbasi's son since he had signed one of his works under his name. It was painted in 1634 A.D, and currently it is available in Paris Museum. His original name is Mohammad Shafii Esfahani. Tabrizi believes that he is not Reza Abbasi's son, and he got the title of Abbasi from Shah Abbas II.[1] He moved to India and died in Agra in 1674. Not much is known about his position and his paintings in India.[2]

10. Shamsuddin—Seyyed Shamsuddin

He was an Iranian artist of 16th century A.D. in India. His work can be seen in a manuscript of Jami's *Yousef and Zoleikha*.

1. In one of his works in Jami's *Yousef and Zoleikha* who are in bed, he signed under the name of Zahabe Alabd Seyyed Shamseddin.
2. He painted Yousef who is relaxed on a chair, and Zoleikha wearing a crown on his head, and they talk to one another.
3. He painted Yousef chained and he is on his knees, being taken to prison. It was painted around 1543A.D.

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[1] . Karim Zadeh Tabrizi, *Lives and Works of Ancient Iranian Painters and Some Famous Indian and Ottoman Painters*, p105

[2] . Pope, Arthur Ipham. *A Study of Art in Iran,* Tehran: 1969, p 60

4. He illustrated mistreatment of Yousef's brothers. He has thin and weak, and is surrounded by his brothers one of whom throws him into a ditch while other brothers are observing.

11. Sahife Banoo

She was one of the Iranian painters of 16^{th} century A.D. She resided in India, and it is thought that she was one of Behzad's disciples. Her two well-known works are:

1. Shah Abbas's picture who is wearing Ghezelbash hat, putting his hands on his knees, and sitting on a carpet.

2. A copy of one of Behzad's well-known paintings which is called Ghasr-e-Khornagh. She also copied another Behzad's work called Nan, a burial procession.

12. Abulhassan (Nader-o-zaman)

He is the eldest son of Reza Jahangiri. He moved to India with his father in his childhood in 1598 when his father lost his credibility in Safavid court. He learned the art of painting from his father, and even he could emulate his father in painting, and he became one of the eminent painters of Jahangir's period. He was entitled "Nader-o-zaman" by Jahangir.

He also composed poems, and included them in the background of his paintings. He is one of the few painters from whom there is a picture. He was portrayed by Dulat in the margin of one of the pages of *Moragha Golashan*.

One of works include Amir Hmaze's portrait who is wearing a lion-head hat, and his horse is trapped by a dragon. Amir Hamze bravely strikes dragon's head and set his horse free. His other work involves Shah Abbas and Jahangir who are sitting over the globe. (Appendix, figure 56)They hug each other as the sign of union and friendship. Shah Abbas is standing on a lamb, and Jahangir is sitting on a lion. This painting was inspired by Jahangir's dream. One of his works which is kept in Walter Ararat Museum, Baltimore's Gallery, is the imaginary portrait of Saadi who is holding his book, *Koliyat*,

and giving it as a gift to Jahangir. He is depicted as short old man who is wearing a white turban and a long purple cloak.

13. Sadegh

Probably, he was one of the migrant Iranians during Akbar Shah's reign. Dr. Gheravi believes that: "the late Ardeshir had a manuscript which had been dedicated to Akbar, and it contained 13 paintings. Most of them were done by Sadegh, the painter of Akbar's court, and some in cooperation with other artists. He was one of the well-known painters of Mughal court. He had such cunning and talent that he could absorb and visualize the secrets of Iranian-Indian painting, and even European one. The prominent features of his works include: dazzling beauty of the faces, softness and steadiness of colors.[1]

14. Alam ben Mohammad Taleb

He was the son of Mohammad Taleb who was one of the famous migrant painters of Jahangir's period. It is thought that he was an Indo-Iranian due to his name and his father's name. His works include:

1. Humayun's picture; he is sitting in his palace surrounded by ambassadors, ministers, and servants.

2. Shah Jahan's portrait, bearing the signature of Alam ben Mohammad

3. Akbar Shah's picture; he is sitting in his palace, and servants are attending for him. It was painted in 1621 A.D. In this assembly, picture of Prince Salim, who is later called Jahangir, can be seen.

15. Abd-al-samad Shirazi – Shirin Ghalam

He was one of the painters from Shiraz in the early 16th century A.D. Due to his dexterity in painting; he became one of the royal painters of Shah Tahmasb's court. During his

[1] . Gharavi, Mehdi. "Magic of Colors (4)", Tehran: Magazine of Art and Man, No. 148, 2007, pp,42-45

one-year stay, Humayun got Mir Seyyed Ali and Abd-al-samad's consent in joining him in India. Thus, they joined him in India in 1549A.D.

Humayun entitled him "Shirin Ghalam" in Kabul where he, Akbar, and Jahangir learned painting. Akbar had written on a margin of *Akbarname* manuscript, kept in the Library of Bankipour (Khodabakhsh) in Petne, that: "I and my father Humayun were trained by Abd-al-samad". Jihangir had written about his education under Abd-al-samad in *Tazooke jahangir*. [1]

After Humayun's sudden death because of being fallen in his library, his son Akbar succeeded him. Akbar appreciated art, and knew Abd-al-samad's personality. He received some titles and positions during Akbar's reign, one of which was the presidency of royal painting house. In 1586, he was the head of Divan Moltan in the old age.

He was an adroit painter and calligrapher.[2] He was so skillful that he wrote the Koran chapter "Ghol ho walla" on a poppy. He along with Mir Seyyed Ali trained Indian students, and it led to the spread of Iranian painting style in India.[3]

We do not know that much about the years of his birth and death. If he moved to India in 1549A.D, he might have been 35 or 40 years of age, and when he accepted the position of "Head of Divan Moltan", he might have been 75 or 80 years old. He might have died at the age of 85 or 90.

The known or attributed works of Abd-al-samad include:

[1] . Gharavi, Mehdi, "Khaje Abdul-Samad Shirazi the Sharp-Brushed". Magazine of Art and Man, No. 128, p 36

[2] . Alami, Abul-Fazl, *Aeen Akbari,* Calcutta: 1872, pp 404-407

[3] .Ibid,p 77

1. He started his first works in the paintings of *Hamzename*. At first, the book was being painted under the supervision of Amir Seyyed Ali, but later, due to his Haj pilgrimage, Abd-al-samad souldered the responsibility.

2. Some of the Timurid family paintings which are currently kept in British Museum were done by Abd-al-samad Shirazi. But these works resemble Mir Seyyed Ali's rather than Abd-al-samad.[1]

3. The picture of Akbar's return to the capital after his father's death. When his father died, he was not in Delhi, and as soon as he got the news, he returned to the capital. It is thought that Abd-al-samd observed the event, and attempted in painting Akbar's return. This unique work in the history of Iranian-Indian painting is kept in Calcutta Museum. The style of Akbar's complexion is completely Iranian.

4. One of his interesting paintings is kept in Bodleian Library. It does not follow Iranian style, and it was the start of naturalization in the paintings of Mughal period. [2]

5. A hunting scene available in the Dyson Princes manuscript of Nezami. This work is signed with a sentence by Khaje Abd-al-samad.(Appendix, figure 57)

6. A picture in which the young Akbar is offering a painting to his father Humayun. It was created in 1556 with a valid signature, and it belongs to Tabriz school. Dr. Gheravi believes that this is one of Abd-al-samad's oldest paintings which are kept in Golestan Palace Museum of Tehran.[3]The works kept in Golestan Palace Museum are;

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[1] . Gharavi, "Khaje Abdul-Samad Shirazi the Sharp-Brushed", pp 45-46

[2] .Ibid,p 38

[3] . Gharavi, Mehdi. "Hamze Nameh, the Greatest Pictorial Persian Book". Magazine of Art and Man, No. 85, p 23

7. Picture of a man riding on a horse in a desert. (Appendix, figure 58)

8. Two people sitting by a cypress, one of whom is painting, and the other one is playing music. On the other side, there are two thin and lank figures sitting on a piece of stone, and surrounded by animals.

9. Majnoon's picture accompanied by wild animals in a desert, and on the other side of the picture, there is a youngster holding a horse's harness in his hand, and taking care of the animals.

10. Picture of India's high ranking officials including Muzaffar Khan, Nazar Kuwaliayee, and Ghabahash. [1]

17- Obeid, Mohammad Obeid

Obeid, or Abd, is the son of Agha Reza Jahangeer. He learnt painting under the tutelage of his father (Agha reza) and his brother (Abulhasan). Obeid is considered a painter of the time of Shah Jahan (1627-1658 AD).

One of the painting works in which Obeid explicitly calls himself the brother of Abolhasan, is the painting of the image of Shah Jahan in the court,

In the book ''Padshah Nameh'' , (The book of kings), there is another work of this artist in the court of Shah Jahan in which the king is sitting on the imperial seat and the courtiers are standing before him and the king is showing them a piece of jewelry.(Appendix, figure 59)

18- Ghulam- Ghulam Mirza

He is an Iranian painter who spent his artistic life in India. His speciality was in drawing the image of animals. There is a work of his in Calecata Museum showing the image of

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[1] . Gharavi, Mehdi. "Magic of Colors (5)", Tehran: Magazine of Art and Man, No. 149, 2007, p 25

the prince Morad, riding an elephant. From this painter there are four paintings carrying the signature of Mirza Ghulam in the book Anvar-e-Soheili in the British Museum.[1]

19- Farsi- Molana Farsi

He was one of the Iranian painters who, together with Abd-al-Samad, Mir Saeid Ali and others immigrated to India in (1549 AD).

20- Fazel

Fazel was also among the Iranians settling in India at the time of Akbar Shah. A work of this painter is a painting in the book 'The Razm Nameh of Jabibo'. In this painting there is a king sitting on the ground and the courtiers are behind him. A dragon submits the head of a warrier to the king.

21- Farukh Beik

Farukh Beik is the brother of Siavash Beik Gorji about who there is written in Gules tan-e-Honar:

Siavash Beik was from Gurjestan. Jamjah took him to the house of painting from his childhood and his apprenticeship was with Molana Muzafar Ali.[2]The writer of the book Alam Ara-e-Abbasi believes Farukh Beik and his brother both passed away at the court of Shah Abbas, but historically this cannot be true, because after Hamzeh Mirza's death at the age of 20 these two went their own separate ways. Siavash Beik went to Shah Abbas' and Shah Tahmasb's court. But Farukh Beik went to India and served Akbar and then after, Jahangir. First, he didn't go to Akbar Shah's court straight. He was doing his paintings in Akbar Shah's brother's (who was the governor of Kabul) court, but when Mirza Hakim died in (1586 AD) together with other dependants he entered Akbar's court. Faruk Beik below one of his works completed in (1615 AD) mentions to be of 70 years of age and this implies that he was born in (1547 AD) and at the age of 40 joined

[1] . Gharavi,. "Magic of Colors (7)", p 21-22

[2] . Turkman, Eskandar Beg. *History of Aalam Ara Abbasid*, Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1957, p 776

Akbar Shah, and in (1597 AD) at the age of 51, when Desonte committed a suicide or died, he was appointed as the president of the library and was in this position to the end of his life (1615 AD).

After the death of Akbar, Jahangir, his son and his crown prince, succeeded to the throne and like his father respected Farukh Beik, and entitled him Nader-al-asr.

Farukh Beik, along with Mir Seyed Ali and Abdul-samad shirazi plays an important role in spreading Iranian painting and forming the Iranian-Indian painting school. He trained many learners in India including Farukh Jileh and Farukh Kherad.The style of his work is like the great master Behzad’s such that some consider him as skillful as Ghasem Ali, the greatest learner of Behzad. Intherns of style and paint work; when Farukh Beik was painting in the Iranian style he presented his best works and those most similar to Bezad’s works. But with the passage of time his works became of different styles.

Some, e.g., Skelton, believe that Farukh Beik served some years in Adelshahian Court for the image of the Ebrahim Adelshah the king of Deccan was painted by Farokh Beik in 1688 AD. Karimzadeh Tabrizi also believes that Farukh Beik is a master in drawing the images of faces. And maybe this is the reason that in most of his works there are pictures of kings, princes, and courtiers.

It is obvious that Farukh Beik, as an Iranian painter throughout his whole life stuck to his Iranian painting style, although the Indian setting had its effects on his painting. Farukh Beik was one of hardworking Iranian painters and for this; there are a lot of works of his available today.

One of the early works of Farukh Beik, or as Brown says, his first work in India, is the one which show Babur in his court. There are some works of his in Golestan Palace library. There is a painting showing Farukh and a parrot in his hand.

Another work of this master is the image of Ibrahim Adilshah, the king of Deccan. In this picture Ibrahim Adilkhan is playing music and three people are sitting by him and one person is also sitting behind him.

In another painting there is an Indian boy smelling a flower.

22- Ghasem Mazhab,

He is an Iranian painter who went to India together with Mir seyed Ali and Abdul samad zshiraazi, at the invitation of Humayun in (1549, AD). He was respected at the court of Houmayun and Akbar. He was always with Mir Seyed Ali and Abdul Samad Shirazi, and was a close friend of the king.

23- Mohammad Zaman

Mohammad Zaman, the young son of haji Yusuf, from Ghom, was sent to Rome by the order from Shah Abbas to learn Wester painting. Rome was the art center of Western land at that time. He stayed there about two or three years and learnt the principles of Western painting.

Mohamad zaman converted to Christianity in Rome and adopted the new name Baolo for himself. After finishing his studies, he returned to Iran and tried to hide his new religion. However, after sometime people became suspicious of his conversion, and since the Shia clergymen were biased about religion, he escaped from Isfahan and went to India in which the Gorkanid kings were ruling the country and were open to religious matters.

Shah Jahan who was ruling over India (1628-1659 AD), gave refuge to Muhamad Zaman and sent him to Kashmir, where it seems that Iranian refugees were sent. These Iranian refugees would receive pension from the Indian court but after the death of and the coronation of Auranga zeb, things changed. Aurangzeb found that Iranians would hide the death of their fellow countrymen and would receive their pension after their death. Therefore, Aurangazeb issued an order whereby all Iranians were asked to introduce themselves to DIVANKHANE for the verification of their names and status. Muhamad zaman also had to go to Delhi together with others.

During this period although Mohammad Zaman's behaviour was like that of Moslems, he would introduce himself as a Christian and would socialize with Christians.

Muhammad Zaman returned to Agra in 1649 A.D and died in Delhi in 1667 AD. He had seen a copy of the book Matheo Rigi which was about a missionary group

to China and translated the chapters two to ten, entitled the history of China, from Latin to Persian. The script is available at the Asian society library in Bangal.

Since the conversion of Mohammad Zaman seemed to have been forgotten in Iran during his stay in India, and since in India when Aurangazeb came to power religious bias was rising, Mohammad Zaman decides to come back to his homeland. However, it is not evident when it happened and it is estimated that he did it during (1661-1664 AD) when a head counting of the high ranking people was underway in Delhi. The possible proof is the painting attributed to him in Sadr-al-deen Aghakhan complex. There is no signature or date on it but experts believe it is a work of his. In this painting Shah Abbas with his entourage and the ambassador of India is shown.

After the death of Shah Abbas, the second, in 1666 A.D, Shah Suleiman succeeded to the throne and caressed Mohammad Zaman for his talents and qualifications and Mohammad ZAman became a painter in his court. In (1673 AD) Muhammad Zaman started composing a script of Khamse Nezami which is now kept in Morgan Library in New York.

This work took about four years (1677-1673 AD), and its first painting which was completed in (1673 AD) shows the image of the tyrannized old woman and King Sanjar, in this painting the king is shown to be young and seated on a white horse, and the old woman has a western look. The date of this work and the script of Mohammad Zaman is clearly written below the feet of the old woman's image.

For his qualifications in painting, Mohammad Zaman was asked by the Safavid court to do the painting work of three pages of Khamse by Nezami,

From (1683 AD) two pictures from the Iranian Indian album exist in Lenin grade. One of these pictures shows the descend of the Holy Spirit on Jesus, while JOSEPH has hugged him and the Virgin is on the other side Father, with open arms from his seat is witnessing this scene. This painting is done in Italian style.

The second picture is a bunch of mountain hyacinth with Mohammad's signature on it saying "from the pen of the least worthy Mohammad of the time, year (1683 AD)."

Muhammad Zaman is considered as one of the greatest Iranian painters in terms of the revolution he made in the Iranian painting. He set the Iranian painting free from the stagnancy of its old rules by bringing new perspectives to this art in Iran.[1]

4-7- Formation of Indo-Iranian Painting School and Studying the Paintings of this School during Humayun, Akbar, and Jahangir

Paintings studied today by art experts known as Indian-Iranian paintings are the result of the combination of the Indian and Iranian painting styles. However, in addition to the immigration of the Iranian painters to India other factors were important in the emergence of the schools of painting in India, as mentioned below:

a) Persian language and literature and its spread in the Mughal court.
b) The presence of Iranian ministers and courtiers at the high-ranking position in the Indian government.
c) The support and love of the Mughal dynasty kings towards art
d) Indian painting background.

An explanation of each of the above cases will be given below.

a) Persian language and literature and its spread in the Mughal court

Persian language and literature spread to India with the deployment of troops to India by Mahmood Ghaznavi about six centuries before the establishment of the Mughal dynasty. The Muslim dynasties that were ruling India before Mughals known as Delhi Sultanate in history were among the supporters of Persian language and literature and encouraged its spread and growth in the Indian subcontinent. The invitation of sultan Ghiasolldin ibne Eskandar, the king of Bengal (1639 AD) from Khaje Hafize Shirazi, is a manifest example of the interest and love of these kings towards the Persian language and literature.

[1] . Zoka, Yahya and Stuart Cary Welch, *Persian and Mogul Miniatures,* Trans. Zahra Ahmadi and Muhammad Reza Nasiri, Tehran: 1995, pp 17-22

With the emergence of the art-loving and art-patronizing Mughal dynasty and the support from its kinds, the Persian language and literature revived in India. Baber, the founder of this dynasty was interested in the spread of this language and according to the historical resources, after the capture of India; many Iranian poets came to India with him including Ashti Ghandhari.

Persian language and literature showed more growth and development in India at the time of Humayun, the son and successor of Babur because he was residing in Iran for one year and got familiar with the Iranian art and culture. When Akbar came to the throne there was full support of Persian language and literature in India and as a result many poets and literary men came to India.[1]Following the Iranian kings, Akbar is the first Indian king who established the position 'Maleko-al-shoaraee' in his court and gave this position to Ghazali Mashhadi for the first time.[2]

Akbar was very interested in books and reading them in such a way that he knew most of them by heart. He had a library of 24 volumes of books.Abulfazl Allami, Akbar's minister, in his book 'Aine Akbari' gives a list of Akbar's court poets sixty of which were immigrants from Iran.

The support of Persian language and literature continued at the time of Jahangeer and Shah Jahan. One of the important factors leading to the spread of Iranian culture in India was the interest that Indian kings showed in Persian language and literature. This made the Iranian culture the dominant culture of the courts of the Mughal Emperors.

In such an environment famous Persian language and literature works such as Shah Name, Nezami's Khamse, Sadi's boostan and golestan, and the collection of Hafiz poems were recited and illustrated. The illustration of these books was one of the main reasons of the establishment and spread of the Iranian painting in India. By having such works

1 . Hekmat, *The Land of India*,pp 86-88

2 . Gharavi, Mehdi. “Persian Books Published in India and Their Backgrounds”. Magazine of Art and Man, No. 102, 103, p 27

painters had enough concepts to be illustrated. It was one way that the Persian language showed its influence on Indian painting and finally the Persian language and literature had a great role in the formation of the Indian-Iranian painting school.

b) The presence of Iranian ministers and courtiers at the high-ranking position in the then Indian government.

The presence of influential Iranian clans in the court of Mughal was another reason that led to the formation of the Indian-Iranian style of painting. Among the influential Iranian clans appointed as ministers we can name Abdol rahman khan, nicknamed as khane khanan.He was originally Iranian and was one of the main figures in the spread of the Persian language and literature in India. One of his works is a translation of a book about Mughal memoires from Turkish to Joghtaee. Another influential Iranian family was that of Mirza Ghias. He was one of the Iranian immigrants to India who got an official position after his girl became the queen. The presence of these people holding the high-ranking positions in the court of Jahangir made Jahangir's court an Iranian court in which all the Iranian culture and civilization was revived. The presence of these people and their appointment at high positions prepared the ground for attracting Iranians and finally the spread of Iranian culture and civilization in India. In this way there was a great expenditure for preparing illustrated manuscripts and a tendency in the spread of Iranian art and culture which itself was an important reason for the formation of the Indian-Iranian school of painting.[1]

c) The support and love of the Mughal emperors towards art

The rulers of the Mughal dynasty not only inherited the love of art from their predecessors but also through them they got familiar with the Iranian art. As an example, Baber Behzad who was respected among Timurian for his skill in painting and praised him in his book Baburname. The two factors of love of art and support for art and the familiarity with Iranian art among the Mughal clan were the reason for them to be

[1] . Gharavi, Mehdi. "Everlasting Close Cultural Relation between India and Iran and Its Glorious Examples", Magazine of Art and Man, No. 95, pp 9-15

interested in Iranian art that was surely one of the richest arts of the world and to promulgate it in their court. As it is known, Humayun, due to his defeat by Sher Shah Afghani and opposition from his brothers took a refuge to Iran and stayed there for one year.

During his one-year stay in India, due to familiarity with and information about the Iranian art, especially to Iranian artists mainly Behzad, Humayun decided to take some of Behzad's students to Iran to spread the painting art in his court. This characteristic was common among the members of this family. They did their best to satisfy the expectations of Iranian painters, especially those of Behzad's.[1] If there had not been no spirit of art-loving and familiarity with Iranian art among the rulers of this dynasty, the Iranian artists would had never immigrated to India to such an extent and there would never have been a school of painting known as the Indian-Iranian school of painting. Therefore, the kings had an important role in the immigration of Iranian artists to India and the spread if Iranian painting art to India which itself led to the formation of the Indian-Iranian painting.

d) Indian painting background

The influence of Iranian painting on Indian painting was not the only factor in the richness of Indian painting. Indian painting in itself had a background dating back to long time ago. Indian religion, in spite of Iranian religions had no resistance or objection to painting or sculpture Indians used these arts to transfer religious concepts in their holy books. Therefore, painting and sculpture based on religious ideas was first considered a religious must before being considered an art. The existence of this background in Indian painting and the influence from Iranian painting resulted in the emergence and formation of the Indian-Iranian painting.[2]

Once we get to know the formation of this school, we will come to know its quality during the reigns of the kings of Mughal Dynasty.

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[1] . Karim Zadeh Tabrizi, *Lives and Works of Ancient Iranian Painters and Some Famous Indian and Ottoman Painters, p 131*

[2] . Gharavi, “Khaje Abdul-Samad Shirazi the Sharp-Brushed”, p 36

Painting in Zahir-ud-Din-Babur's Era

The founder of Mughal Dynasty, Zahi-ud-Din-Babur, was the direct descendant of Timur through his father, and descendent of Genghis Khan through his mother. He was born in Fargana (Modern Uzbekistan) in 1483. When he was 12, his father died and he came to power in 1494. And after overcoming hardships, he decided to expand his territory and it was coincided with the reigns of two powerful kings namely Sheibak Khan Uzbek and Shah Email Safavid. Killing of Sheibak Khan by Shah Ismail provided a propitious opportunity for Babur to start expanding his rule in neighboring territories. He was supported by Shah Ismail since he had consented to spread Shiaism in those regions. Thus he succeeded and could conquer Badakhshan, Bukhara, and Samarqand. He minted coins in Shah Ismail's name and bent his efforts in spreading Shiaism.

However, since the majority of Mavara-al-nahr people were Sunnis, he could not make that much achievement in this regard. Shah Email sent troops to Babur who had lost Samarqand and Bukhara but it was not helpful. Right then he was determined to conquer India. The incentive was provided by Doulat Khan, governer of Punjab, who sought his assistance in removing Ibrahim Lodi, the king of India. With the excuse of offering assistance to Doulat Khan, he crossed Sind River in the hope of conquering India, and in 1525A.D he occupied Peshavar, Jahlum, Sialkut, and Lahore. Then he headed toward Delhi with 10,000 fighters and encountered Ibrahim Lodi's army of 100,000 fighters and 1,000 elephants in Banipat (1526A.D). He finally defeated and killed Ibrahim Lodi.[1]

One year later, he defeated the remaining troops of Rajput in Kanha, and one of his sons called Humayun headed towards Agra and occupied there; and thus Mughal dynasty was established in India. After his victory, Babur could not live longer and his expansionist policies perpetuated until the last days of his life, and announced his son, Humayun, the successor. He was buried in Kabul, and Shah Jahan constructed a tomb for him in 1646. Like his predecessors including Timuri kings specially Shahrukh, Baisunghur, Sultan

[1] . Kuhnel, Ernest. *Islamic Art,* Trans. Houshang Taheri, Tehran: Ibn Sina, 1969, p 222

Hussein Baighara, Babur art lover and art promoter. His description of nature in Babarnama is so delicate and keen that nobody can stop admiring it. Because of his constant wars he could not make an assembly of artists especially painters in order to illustrate his diary book, Baburnama. But his adroit writing is so grand that it enables the redears to imagine and make the picture of what he is describing. He wrote Baburnama in Chaghatai Turkic, but he was enthusiastic about Persian language, culture, and art. Christian Prise believes that although he could not allocate his time for art, he collected Iranian paintings especially Behzahd's and the paintings of Herat school.[1]

Painting during Humayun's Reign

During his lifetime, Babur married several women including Humyun's mother, Mahem Beig, who was the daughters of Saadats of Jam and the descendents of Sheikh of Jam, Hazrat-e-Zhend-e-Pil. He favored her very much, that is why Humayun's birth in 1507 was hilarious for him. Nasreddin Homayun succeeded Babur, and he was the first supporter of mughal painting.

His brothers, Hendal Mirza and Kamran, posed threat to his fair and enthusiastic rule. And worst of the threats were from the side of Afghans who were led by Sher Khan; he was elite from Babar's clan. He conquered Bengal and fought Humayun to conquer the rest of India. He adopted the name of Sher Khan after making Humayun retreat in 1539A.D.

Unlike Humayun who was active and ambitious, he was a weakling. After re-defeating Humayun in Bilgaram, he made him escape toward Punjab. In this chaotic situation, Mirza Kamran blocked the routes of Punjab and Kabul, and led him toward Sind; and it was there in 1542A.D that Akbar was born. After two years oF wandering, he took refuge in Iran by the consent of Shah Tahmasb Safavi. Safavid Kings' generosity toward Humayun was probably stemmed from politics and religion. As a Shia Muslim,

[1] . Price, Christine. *History of Islamic Art*, Trans. Masoud Rajab Nia, Tehran: Association of Book Translation and Distribution, 1969, p 172

Humayun, who had been threatened, was supported. Since Iran was invaded by Ottomans in the west and Uzbeks in the east, Shah Ismail attempted to make a strong Shia ally by inviting the Mogul empire into his creed.[1]

Humayun's stay in Iran did not last more than one year because he conquered Afghanistan with the help of Shah Tahmasb's 15,000 Ghezelbash troops, and after a while he entered Delhi. During Humayun's stay in Safavid court, he came to appreciate and admire the paintings by Shah Tahmasb's painters. In addition to that, he managed to take some of the Iranian painters to India, and he could buy and collect very invaluable works of Iranian painters including Behzad and his apprentices. Shah Email's sponsorship of painting led to Humayun's interest in painting, and in 1546A.D he invited two Safavid painters to join his court namely Mir Seyyed Ali and Abdul-samad. Humayun titled them as Nader-ol-molki and Shirin-ghalami. Humayun's selection was due to the fact that they had naturalist inclinations which are depicted in illustrated works of Babar.

Humayun had a strong interest in art especially Iranian art. His interest augmented when he saw the works of Iranian artists around him; while he had not occupied all parts of India, and battles and hardships still annoyed him. He ordered the construction of a workshop similar to what he had seen in Iran. And it was in this workshop that the Iranian-Indian school of painting came to fore.[2]

Basil Gray believes that when Mir Seyyed Ali was in Tabriz, he along with another painter called Abdul-samad Shirazi painted all the portraits of Timuri clan for Humayun as an illustrated historical document, and after going to India he painted the same work in a larger scale on cotton cloth. [3]

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[1] . Zoka, and Cary Welch, *Persian and Mogul Miniatures*, pp 3-4

[2] . Gharavi, "Everlasting Close Cultural Relation between India and Iran and Its Glorious Examples", pp 85-6

[3] . Gary, Basil. *An Overview on Painting in Iran*, Trans. Firouz Shirvanlu, Tehran: Toos, 1977, p 152

Among Shah Tahmasb’s painters, Mir Seyyed Ali was the most distinguished one in terms of precision, correctness, and rendering s true to life features of objects, and complexions. Abdul-samad was less talented and skillful but he could lead a long and prosperous life in Mogul era. The remaining paintings of his stay in Kabul is indicative of the fact that he quickly applied Safavid painting school in illustrating the portraits with precision and correctness for the liking of Moguls.

Painting in Akbar’s Era

When Humayun died, Prince Akbar, who was barely 14 years of age, was sent to mountains to fight the Afghan king, Iskandar Shah, in order to expel him from there. One of the strongest warlords of his father, Bairam Khan, hastily made a crown and pronounced this boy the king. Later, Bairam Khan as successor could strengthen his shaky kingdom, and helped him in achieving a relative peace of mind. He was very much interested in books and book reading, and although his father’s effort in educating him failed, nobody thought that he was illiterate. He had his favorite books read before him, and he was familiar with poetry and prose works.[1]

His passion for painting was not less than his passion for books. That is why painting thrived during his era. Because of his efforts, the Indo-Iranian painting school which was initially formed during Humayun’s era was perfected and completed in Akbar’s era. Dr. Gharvi believed that Akbar’s role in the formation of this school was as important as the roles of two Iranian painters, Mir Seyyed Ali and Abdul-samad Shiraz.

For furthering his support of painting and painters, he built a workshop in which more than 100 artists worked under the supervision of Iranian painters. Not only Iranian painters and trainers were employed for training local artists, but also a great number of illustrated manuscripts by Iranian masters including Behzad, Agha Mirak, and Sultan

[1] . Gharavi, Mehdi. “Magic of Colors (2)”, Tehran: Magazine of Art and Man, No. 145, 2007, p 44

Mohammad Mossavar were set as examples to be followed by Indian artists.[1] During Akbar's reign, especially in his early years, the flow of Iranian masters' immigration, which had started during Humayun's era, was intensified, and this led to the development and perfection of Indo-Iranian painting school.[2]

The most renowned artistic design of Akbar's reign is Hamzename (Hamze's Tales). It includes the images of gigantic humans on the cotton, and adventurous myths of Amir Hamze, one of the Prophet Mohammad's uncles. These paintings depict the objective view and curious temperament of Akbar during the time when he had full control over his kingdom, and he achieved his plans and objectives with God-like power and cunningness. In the picture, for example, of Mir Dokht's Escape, he reveals himself completely in it; the movement and downpour of water, human encounters, and heroic acts with fabricated courage, even the activeness of rocks remind one Abulfazl's words who said that even the inanimate objects were depicted in such a way that they looked life-like. (Aeen-e-Akbari)[3]

In a new period when efforts had been made in involving Indians in artistic affairs, as the first step, Akbar assigned Indian artists to do the illustrations of Mahabharata. This book was illustrated by Desvant, Besvan, and Laal who all had Iranian trainers. The important event which caused the greater influence of Iranian painting, and its perseverance in India was the transference of the capital from Agra to Lahore where Akbar stayed for 20 years. And due to closeness of Lahore to Iran, the influence of Safavid style was strengthened. One of the most invaluable manuscripts was Nezami's book called Khamse which was prepared in Lahore in 1004. It was written by Abdul-rahim Anbar bin Ghalam, the famous calligrapher. It does not have more than 38 illustrations, and perhaps one of the reasons was the effort and precision which were allocated for preparing those parties.

[1] . Dimond, Moris Son. *Guidebook to Islamic Manufacture*, Trans. Abdullah Faryar, Tehran: Association of Book Translation and Distribution, 1958, pp 69-70

[2] . Gharavi, "Magic of Colors (2)", p 56

[3] . Alami, Abul-Fazl, *Aeen Akbari*, Calcutta: 1872, pp 113-114

This manuscript was so important that even Abdul-samad Shirazi attempted to illustrate one of its parties. [1]

Two features are distinctive in the painting of Akbar era: firstly, paying attention to true -to-life portraying, and secondly, influence of European paintings in India. Among the distinguished painters who came to India during Akbar's reign was Farukh Beig who had a great impact in preserving and excreting the characteristics of Iranian paintings in India. In addition to painting, he was the forerunner in spreading Iranian painting style in India. As the head of the art workshop, he managed to direct the painters on the path of Iranian painting, since he was a member of the great school of Iranian painting. Another prominent painter who came to India during this period was Agha Reza, but since he did most of his artistic works during the era of Jahangir, Akbar's son, he could not exert that much influence on the painting school of Akbar's era. Akbar was interested in true-to-life painting, and he had the portraits of his companions painted and kept in a collection. One of the most important events of Akbar's era was the commencement of European painting influence in India. These paintings which were brought to India by Christian missionaries were so attractive that Akbar had them copied.

Painting in Jahangir's Era

Due to his devotion to his father's devotion to Grand Sufi Sheikh Salim Chashti, Jahangir was called Prince Salim but after Akbar's death in 1606, he succeeded his father under the name of Jahangir. He married an Iranian girl called Noor Jahan who was formerly called Mehr-an-Nesa. She was Mirza Ghiyath's daughter who was entitled Etemad-ad-daule and became a minister. In addition to father, her brother, Asif Khan, attained the title of Jahangir's Sepahsalar after his sister's marriage.

Jahangir was considered his father righteous successor in terms of promoting art and artists. He was so interested in art, especially painting, and artists that he ordered the establishment of an exclusive workshop when he was a prince. And when Agha Reza Zamani came to India in 1598, he started working there. One example of his being an art

[1] . Gharavi, "Magic of Colors (4)", p 29

lover was the death of Mir Emad, the eminent Iranian calligrapher. As soon as he heard the news, he was so dejected that mourned and cried for his death, and he told Shah Abbas that if he had given Mir Emad to him, he would have given Iran as much gold as he weighed. And since Jahangir was so enthusiastic about him, he might have undoubtedly done it.

He loved painting more than any form of art. He was so adroit in distinguishing paintings that he could recognize the works of great painters easily. His taste and interest in art was unique. He wrote: “When I look at myself, I realize that my interest and taste in judging the paintings was so elevated that when I see a work, I can recognize its creator whether he is dead or alive. You don’t need to tell me the artist’s name, I can tell who has done it instantly. If different portraits of a painting are done by different artists, I can tell which portrait is done by which master, even I can tell by whom the eyes or eyebrows are painted.” In 6th August 1616, Sir Thomas Row, the British ambassador, gave a portrait to Jahangir and said: “I was sure that no one in India could paint like that. The emperor was proud of the fact that one of his painters could copy it so brilliantly that even I could not recognize my own painting. That night, he called me, and he was insistent on showing me his success. He showed me six pictures, the five of which were done by his painters. They were so similar that it was difficult for me to recognize my own painting under the candle light. He was very much thrilled about his painters’ success.”[1]

One of the main characteristics of the paintings of Jahangir Era is spread and development of true-to-life painting and portraying which had started in Akbar’s period. Excessive spread of this method brought about decline and finally cessation of illustrated manuscripts, but it did not occur all at once, because in the early period of Jahangir’s reign, like the previous eras, some manuscripts were illustrated the best of which include: Kelile-va-Demne of Anvare Soheili, Tezuk Jahangiri or Jahangirnama, Divan of Hafiz, Divan of Amir Khusrou Dehlavi.

[1] . Zoka, and Cary Welch, *Persian and Mogul Miniatures*, pp 13-14

For knowing the features of this period, study of Anvar Soheili's book is of utmost importance. It was written by Mulana Hussein Sabzevari based on Kelile-va-Demne which was illustrated for Jahangir under the supervision of Agha Reza in 1609A.D. The illustrations of this book is a suitable collection for tracing and knowing the transformation of Akbar school painting to the paintings of Jahangir's era; the bright and sharp colors of Akbar's period is changed into soft and natural colors. Shading and mingling of natural landscapes, which became widespread later in the paintings of this era, can be found in the paintings of this book.

Supervision and participation of Agha Reza in illustrating Anvare Soheili's book caused more spread of the features of Iranian paintings and its perseverance in India. Although Agha Reza imitates the Baburi paintings in physiognomy and movement, he and his son, Abul-Hassan generally strengthen the features of Iranian painting in India. After preparing the aforementioned books, produce of illustrated manuscripts was almost stopped, while produce of individual paintings with human subjects and natural landscapes became more common than any other period.

Different views have been offered about the causes and factors contributing in the spread and development of true-to-life painting and portraying. On the whole, three following causes have been considered in this regard:

1- Perhaps one the most important and influential factors for the growth and development of true-to-life painting and portraying in this period was the special characteristic of Jahangir; because, he was a realist and he would like to see things as they are. He liked the paintings on which the expressions of countenance are precise and clearly depicted; that is why the paintings of this period are completely different from Iranian paintings. In Iranian painting the individual himself is not considered, and he is regarded as an object of embellishment.

2- Some believe that since in Akbar's era all the important Persian and Indian books had been illustrated, no important book has remained to be illustrated in Jahangir's period; that is why artists turned into portraying and natural landscapes. The margin of a

manuscript of Shirin-va-Farhad is indicative of the fact that the preparation of classical Persian and Indian books was tedious and boring. [1]

3- Perhaps another cause was European paintings which started to exert greater influence in India during this period. Dr. Gheravi thinks that it is unlikely, and believes that the artists started to turn their attention from illustrating story and adventure books to court life. And the artists started to draw what they saw instead of drawing what they thought. Moreover, Maktoub Khan, the head of Jahangir’s library, sent two Indian painters to Italy to learn the techniques of the western painting. They returned to India after a six-year stay and spread the European style in India.

Another feature of the paintings of the Jahangir era is the creation of Moragha (or album) which was influenced by the interests of Jahangir in this era. In this era, single paintings together with the paintings of the previous painting masters torn up from books were collected in a collection called Moragha, or Album, as is called by Europeans, and bound. Since these Moraghas bring together the paintings of different masters in a collection give us a better understanding of the development of the paintings of this ear and because of this are of great importance in the historic study of the paintings of this are.

Four Moragha or albums created at the Jahangiri era are:

1- the Jahangir Album or Moragha at the state library of Berlin;

2- the Album or Moragha called Wantage Bequest London;

3- the Golshan Moragha kept in the Golestan Museum.

4- The Ardeshir Moragha sold out at an auction in London.

Another feature of the Jahangir era having direct and direct effects on art, especially on painting, was the how of the political and artistic relations of Jahangir with Shah Abbas Safavi from Iran. He who had a special interest in having and maintaing

[1] . Gharavi, “Magic of Colors (5)”, pp 48-50

artistic and cultural relationships with Iran, by sending several ambassadors to the Iranian court, tried to strengthen these friendly relationships. He sometimes sent paintings to Iran to keep these relationships in art warm between the two counties.

Speaking of the status of the Iranian painters of this Jahangir era, it should be mentioned that Mir seyed Ali and Abdul samad Shirazi in the Humayun era, and Mir seyed Ali, Abdul samad Shirazi together with Farokh Beik, in Akbar era, were the influential figures of the impact of Iranian paintings on India paintings. Agha Reza and specially His son, Abulhasan, in Jahangir's era were also influential figures in strengthening, spread and maintaining the Iranian painting in India. Abulhasan was brought up by Jahangir and was more than other painters cared For by Jahangir in a way that he was nicknamed Nader alzaman (Unique in time) by Jahangir. Abulhasan took up painting from his father and because of this traces of Iranian paintings can be seen in his works. Agha Reza, had other sons, in addition to Abulhasan, named Obeid and alireza, who were painters like the father and brother. Obeid spent much of his artistic life in Shah Jahan era, and was one of the brilliant painters of the time, although he was not as successful as his brother and father.

Beside Agha Reza's family there were lots of other painters in the Jahangir era who had artistic activities including, Mohammad Nader samarghandi, Salim Gholi, Rahman Gholi, Alem ebne Mohammd Taleb, Gholam, Nadere Samarghandi, Salim Gholi, Rahman Gholi, Alem ebne Mohammad Taleb, Ghola, Nadere Bano, Mohammad Ali, Yosef,va Sharaf al din Ali. The existence of these painters among which the most important are Agha Reza and Abulhasan, was the main reason of the spread of Iranian painting to India in Jahangir era.

But due to reasons given below Iranian painting, in Jahangir era, lost its dominance and influence and if one could call Indian paintings of the Humayun and Akbar, as Indo-Iranian, this name could not be applied to Indian paintings in the late years of Jahangir sultanate.

India painting, which was influenced by the Iranian culture and its artistic beauties in the early stages of the Baburian government, and forgot its artistic identity and

background, after a lapse of time which started from the time of Humayun and continued to the time of Jahangir, was able to regain its lost independence and through the combination of the characteristics of Iranian and European paintings with local paintings introduced an art that was quite different and independent from them all. And as Percy Brown holds, in the early stages (Baburi), Indian paintings were a manifestation of Iranian paintings but were soon affected by the environment. Another reason that reduced the effect of Iranian painting on Indian painting was a stoppage of the immigration of Iranian painters to India in Jahangir era. The flow of Iranian painters to India began in Humayun era reached its peak in Akbar era and lasted till the end of the sultanate of Jahangir (a slighter flow in Jahangir era). The continuous immigration of Iranian painters was a main factor of the spread of the characteristics Iranian paintings in India, and when this process was stopped in the late periods of Jahangir era, Iranian painting was influenced by Indian painting, and in particular, from the time of Akbar a new movement began to gain the artistic affairs of the country and become independent from the influence of the Iranian painters. As mentioned earlier, paintings of the Jahangir era, had characteristics that made it difficult to find traces of Iranian paintings in them. Therefore, the analysis of the paintings of the shah jahan and Aurangzeb, since we find the least amount of the effect of Iranian paintings on India paintings, is not intended in this study. Although Iranian painters were still doing their job in Indian courts, because of the effect of the environment and European painting, they were showing less signs of Iranian paintings in their paintings.[1]

4-8- Explanation of Safavid Architecture

Safavid Architecture in comparison to Seljuki, Ilkhani and Timurid architectures has not been completely known. There are some elements which have determinant roles on that. One of them is the commonplace reason of prejudice or jumping to judgments. Beautiful buildings of Safavid era have always raised great admiration and have been placed in the

[1] . Nafisi, Noushindokht. “Advents of Art in Asia”, Magazine of Art and Man, No. 22, pp 36-40

uninteresting categorization of touristic attractions; that is why they have not been seriously and academically evaluated and studied. On the other hand, documentary defects and shortages of Safavid architecture must also be stated i.e. proportional lack of portraying and technical drawings which have led to hasty conclusions. Another important reason which is being unprotected and availability of some of main buildings in Isfahan for all that has made other inaccessible works in Ardebil, Mahan, Kerman and Mashhad remain unjustly unknown.[1]

Complimenting architecture of "Safavid" palaces includes at least some short comings. There are less than ten palaces remaining from them which are mostly in Isfahan and their history could be found on their scriptures or in historical sources. Fragile and retentive architecture and the plan of gardens and decoration of them and some reflections of industrial arts in palaces gave them new identities and different individualities.

King Ismail's coming to throne (1502A.D) is usually the climax and starting point and history of Iran. Nevertheless, if we consider his kingdom also a starting point, we will commit a mistake. In fact after appearance of Seljuks there is not a period of 25 years seen in Iranian architecture which has left any works. Architecture was not more important than poetry, painting, calligraphy and music for kings. However, political instability in the time of King Ismail had not let any architectural work to be created. Anyway, there was no kind of innovative breeze to alter architectural atmosphere of Iran and the same preceding Timurid architecture went on. A collection of small decorative pieces came to exist in competition with the best works of the preceding period but as it seems there was no major effort to imitate glorious works of the previous century (i.e. in Mashhad and Samarghand). Western tourists have given passionate reports from King Ismail's palaces but none of these palaces has sustained very long. Incidental spread of

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[1] . Hilenbrand, Rober. *Iranian Architecture in Safavid Period*, A Study by Cambridge University, Trans. Dr. ya'qub Azhand, Tehran: Faramin Press, 4th ed., 2009, p 403

early tenth/sixteenth-century buildings does not represent glory and splendor of later Safavid architecture.

Doubtlessly one of the masterpieces of this era is front board of Harun's shrine (Appendix, figure 60) in Isfahan State that is dated June 1513A.D. At the top there is the name of its sponsor, great chancellor of Durmosh Khan is written in two lines in Persian. This monument which was unrivaled to the day soon became a masterpiece of Safavid period. Architecturally this complex is more wonderful than unique. Although its main form has been revived by some later repairs, its external part is not enough for a decorative entrance. Plan of the dome at the external part shows the gradual identity of the whole complex. Its octagonal basement has added a commonly contrary function to its rectangular middle storey. The top dome which its tile-work belongs to following centuries is placed on a long domical stem which is a common and average octagon and has an average boss in Zehband and its side view is very similar to side view of Masjid Shah (1451 AD) in Mashhad. In choosing the main elements like dome, front apron and view of the building nothing new is noticeable. This dome internally does not have much role in architecture; importance of this part is because of brick-mosaic plinths and different chain of scriptures.

Gnostic identity of Harun to whose honor this Mashhad has been made is a mystery in which sweet and romantic sayings of Sharden has little role in making it sporadic. This story indirectly has been narrated on one of the scriptures and in terms of beauty in calligraphy it also equals its contemporary works. Regardless of real historical records and king's epithets, this building has been constructed in honor of King Ismail.[1]

In addition to brick-mosaic technique which was a well-known technique in tile-work, this building reveals chess-pattern which was derived from brick decoration of Seljuks. It displays window networks in glazed geometric forms and chains of multicolored tile-work which demonstrate architectural features. Glazed diaphoretic works on brick

[1] . Honarfar, Lotfollah. *Isfahan Heritage of Historical Works*, Isfahan: Thaghafi Press, 1972, pp 368-9

backgrounds are among other demonstrated features. A vast chain of scriptures has been applied. Division lines of scriptures which divided them into three parts have special curves. There are some poems written on top of the door in primitive form of Nasta'ligh calligraphy as well as square-shaped Koofi writing style.

Glazed fine chains like most brick mosaics are works attributed to Teimorids of Khurasan; whereas most glazed Mo'araghs in simple brick background like brownish yellow marble plinth are similar to Kaboud Mosque of Tabriz. Therefore, this primary building of Safavid era in central Iran has mingled different eastern and western traditions in a harmonious way and has become a proper symbol for new Iran-based government of Safavid. Two buildings of the city Saveh spread more light on architecture of this era. Moving capital from Tabriz to Qazvin gave this city a new significance because important roads of southeast and southwest joined to each other in this area. That is why King Tahmasb naturally made reformations there.

There is some exaggeration on the first work of Safavids in Congregation Mosque. In early parts of Safavid era there has been enough plaster-work applied on Congregation Mosque of Saveh which was famous for almost one century. The present skill in Regha scriptures of Mihrab shows that efforts for revival of this technique had been insensible. Plaster Mihrabs of Seljuki and Ilkhani which have examples in this mosque are in sculpture form and have been worked out in different levels of carving. This Mihrab, compared with them, demonstrates Mo'aragh plaster-work which was basically applied on brick mosaics and book volumes. Nearby Meidan Mosque whose scriptures go back to 1518 AD it is concluded that it has been repaired in Safavid era; there has been a new Mihrab discovered perhaps belonging to the same artist.

Therefore, although artistic activities of Ismail were not without architecture, it showed a huge gap in comparison with high quality buildings of the preceding eras. This deficiency was present in the long time of King Abbas' rule. However, King Tahmasb's time was the time of tranquility, plentitude and peace on the contrary of King Ismail's period. This frequent pause in construction of buildings must be studied in king himself whose disregard for art influenced all arts. In more than 40 books which include history of his

kingdom only some glorious buildings or parts of them have been mentioned. Like his father, King Tahmasb has ordered no separate mosque to remain in his name.

Defending King Tahmasb it must be mentioned that his best works were probably gathered in Qazvin which was damaged by earthquake many times. Therefore, there is nothing remained from Shah (King’s) Mosque and King's Palace and even his bathrooms (and probably his Bazaar) has been destroyed completely. His works in shrines are less than what was expected previously. There are major shrines remained in Neishabour and Sultaniyeh. Meanwhile the best tile-work of the time is available in congregation mosque of Isfahan, Kerman, Shiraz and also smaller parts of Isfahan which are again present in Chehelsotoun Palace. Hence, regarding these different exceptions, most works that appeared in the time of King Tahmasb are: repairing and additions to previous holy places (in Mashhad and Ardebil), shrines (including five shrines in Kashan, six shrines in Yazd and eight shrines in Ghom and its suburbs), mosques (Bersian, Ghom, Yazd, Shoshtar, Sarvar, Congregation Mosques of Shiraz along with six other mosques in this city), gravestones or stone boards which have some engraved sentences on them (Meidan Mosque in Kashan), wood-work (in Tajrish, Imamzade Ghasem, Tabas, Imamzade Hussein, Natanz Shrine, Bibi Shahr Bano, Qazvin, Shahzade Hussein, Pishva and Imamzade Ja'far) some average shrines (Imamzade Abazar near Qazvin, Imamzade Hamzeh in Bovanat and Imamzade Abolfath in Vanshan; the last two works have a lot of engravings on wood). [1]

Architecture experienced a span of 12 years suspension after death of King Tahmasb and coming of Abbas I. Names of destroyed works which had been constructed in this period are present in references. But there are no remains except the followings: mosque (Isfahan, Fath Mosque), gravestone (Isfahan, Baba Ghasem, sign of Imamzade Abolfath and Imamzade Ismail), Orders (Kashan, Meidan Mosque), stone grave (Imamzade Ja'far in Pishva and Ghtbeddin in Torbat Heidariyeh). In 1586 Noshiraz Mosque also underwent mending.

[1] . Hilenbrand, .*Iranian Architecture in Safavid Period,* p 422-27

Coming of King Abbas to the throne completely revived inappropriate situation of Iranian architecture which had experienced one century of unproductive conditions. His achievements in this regard made Iranian works compete with Ottoman and Mongol architectural works. Isfahan bore the spirit of modern architecture in Iran. His achievements in this regard equalized Iranian works with architecture of Ottoman Empire and that of Mongols in India. The spirit of modern architecture in Iran was explored in Isfahan. Ability and passion of the new king in supporting construction made architects revive and practice innovations which had long been weakened during previous kingdoms. If we intend to point out King Jahan as a supporter of architecture, we must refer to Isfahan. In fact Safavid architecture gained its fame through the works constructed between 1598 A.Dand 1628 A.Din this city. When King Jahan moved the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan in spring 1598A.D he had almost ruled for one decade. In this one decade he had not served architecture very much. It was just after moving to Isfahan that his hidden ambitions were activated and caused vast planning for construction and architecture. It is not much exaggeration if one says Isfahan was his heart. Additionally previous development of the city and its natural environment also has been important in this planning. Most people of Isfahan were settled in the slum areas in the northern part of the city i.e. where the old square of Seljuk period was in its natural cannon. King was free for construction in southern part of the city and in all roads that joind the river and beyond it. Presence of the big river and unoccupied lands besides the river and city had provided the king with a good opportunity for vast developments. In fact one of the most attractive features of architecture in Isfahan after 1598 AD was its change of policy and acceleration. Instead of rare unorganized projects in early years, a new organized procedure emerged. Lots of buildings were constructed and some constructive projects were completed in considerable speed.

A series of the masterpieces which added a lot to popularity of Isfahan was Char Bagh. The name Car Bagh (four gardens) has been taken from four vineyards which King Aabbas had to rent to progress his plans. Char Bagh in its original form was a huge street which was almost 4 km and was laid north to south in royal gardens next to Central Square, up to one thousand acres pure properties which were two km in the south of Zayande Roud. A splendid area of trees planted in rows had divided it into three streets

and the middle street had a water stream. There were fountains and waterfalls in it. Gardens around Char Bagh extended in large areas and had fences instead of strong walls as passengers of the public roads also enjoyed watching the scenes. Palaces called Setareh, Abbas Abad, Jahan Nameh and Nastaran were designed in gardens called Takhtgah, Bolbolan, Daravish, Totestan and Behesht. Char Bagh of Safavids as it is clear from its name, was not produced as a place for trade but it was generally a garden which its sidewalks provided shade for passengers, but Char Bagh in terms of architectural value is considered as a scenic garden system. Utilizing endless roof forms in order to create an enclosed space had made it very similar to a field. Here, nature provides the most parts of the plan and the designer has planned it based on rectangular fields next to each other. There are no signs of imposition or natural inflexibility. Records of that time imply that Char Bagh was produced for entertainment of the public so that they enjoy talking to each other and watching the passing world around them while walking or even riding horses.

King Abbas II was an eager fan and supporter of constructing buildings and at least two masterpieces in Isfahan i.e. Chehelsotoun Palace (Appendix, figure 61) and Khajo Bridge (Appendix, figure 62) are attributed to him. Talar Ashraf, Hakim Mosque and to some extent Ghadamgah in Neishabour are other magnificent works which King Abbas II had roles in constructing them. In his time, the holy places of Ghom, Ardebil, Mashhad, and Congregation Mosque of Kerman, Gorgan, Qazvin and also smaller shrines were mended and new projects were carried on. He added a big door and marble plinths to King's Mosque. At last some religious buildings were constructed in Isfahan itself under his own rule such as Armeni Church of Holy Sisters (in Jolfa), Mesri (Egypt) Mosque, Sarotaghi Mosque, Schools of Big Jaddeh and Small Jaddeh. Chehelsotoun is truly one of the most famous palaces of Iran and it is perhaps because of keeping the main area of garden. Some celebrations and glorious ceremonies were held in this palace. A decorative pool which connected to a central cottage is one of its important places. Most beauty and quality of royal gardens which included these kinds of palaces totally depended on the environments surrounding them.

Chehelsotoun like other Safavid palaces has intentionally an instable and dynamic atmosphere and its eighteen pillars are like matchsticks as if they are not strong enough to keep hold of the roof. There is an element of exaggeration here which in different names has entered other Islamic palaces like Palace of Ghoba Abad of Seljukis or Soghorligh/Satlikh of Ilkhani which has also the title of Chehelsotoun hidden in water which reflects the image of pillars and shows them as forty pillars.

One of the important aspects of this palace like Aali Ghapo is the strength of its four corners from front side and back side which is different from its frontal view which looks unstable and unorganized. Long openings which are 5 meters deep open parallel to side door heads and each of them has four pillars. Mogharnas pillar-heads are other forms of medieval styles which are placed in the space between pillars and the roof. If nowadays saloons seem bare and echoic, it is because in the past there were curtains between pillars and the floor and the floors were covered with carpets which had patterns of court members watching singers and dancers.

Another masterpiece of King Abbas II's kingdom is Khajo Bridge which was probably constructed by his military commander, Hassan Beig on pillars of a Teimorid bridge in 1650 AD. It received the name of the neighborhood besides it. Although this bridge compared to Allah Verdi Khan Bridge (132 to 300 met) is shorter but the huge octagonal spaces in the middle of the river which bears the river on the two sides take a lot of space. Additionally, Khajo Bridge unlike its previous examples is located on a huge stone platform which has some stairs towards the river in the eastern side, while in the western side spear-like walls break the flow of river. This platform on top of which there is bridge arch has divided the building into a huge three-floor structure which is in perfect conditions of reflection. Small semi-octagonal spaces which are samples of this huge masterpiece are located at the end of the bridge. This bridge has a diversity and intensity which in terms of visual structure make it superior to Allah Verdi Bridge.(Appendix,figure 63) Regarding its function it is also a complicated bridge. The upper part has become a path for horses and carts with arched space on both sides. Its lowest part is 26 meters wide which acts like a dam. When the spaces are closed water surface comes up two meters. Its middle space is like a fun palace of Safavid era attached

to a convenient and suitable palace. King could watch water sports, fun boating contests, water hockey and boating in if necessary, could take rest in the internal chambers. Recently these chambers have been tiled with new everyday tiles and decorated with new carpets with borrowed patterns and these decorations have replaced the previous gold paintings and virtual instructions. Location of the bridge just like its precise plan reveals its careful design. This bridge is located in the width of old road of Shiraz and is the closest way to neighborhood of Zartoshtis. Zartoshtis could enter Charbagh through it and eventually it is along the eastern road of the square.

The last significant achievements of Safavid period were a collection of buildings which Shah Hassan I (kingdom 1694-1722 A.D) constructed in Char Bagh. [1] this collection reminds glory of King Abbas I's period and includes a school called "King's Mother", a caravan inn, stables and a bazaar which its benefits were used for construction of public institutes. Centrality and symmetry were features of its plan. School, caravan inn and stables had been constructed along with and attached to the bazaar and the bazaar continued until their northern dimensions. Bazaar was 220 meters long and there were rows of arches in its two sides; 80 meters in the west parallel to school there was a vast area for minarets while in the middle and eastern parts there were empty chambers. Main entrance of the school was on the side of Char Bagh which led to its open yard. Its yard along with its passages and its pool had been divided into four parts and this was counted as an adoption from Char Bagh itself outside it. On the sides of the yard there were two rows of chambers and its angles like angles of fifteenth century schools were Lab Pakh. Its dome was vertical on the entrance door; because of this it was not on the same direction as King's Mosque which was towards Mecca. But in terms of tile-work there seems to be a failure in comparison to front building. There is not Mo'aragh used in its tile-work but there is a lot of checkerboard pattern. Its geometric patterns are crude and coarse and there is a boring yellow in its painting. Despite this, yard of King's School with its streets full of trees, plaster-work of arches and their blue lines and also

[1] . Honarfar, Isfahan *Heritage of Historical Works*, pp 537-549

magnificent tiles reflected in pool water has brought a scene of dignity and beauty to this building which is a much higher than its architectural values. Wide scale and certain density of the shapes provided a fine example for architects of the two following centuries in Iran. Bloom and huge development of Isfahan in time of King Abbas I was seen in smaller scale in Shiraz of Karim Khan Zand and Vakil's Isfahan since 1750 A.D till 1779 A.D. Karim Khan gave glory to his capital by construction of wide streets including 25 buildings including bazaar, mosque and palace. Most important construction was around the square and form of this square was an imitation of Naghsh Jahan Square in Isfahan and in that of Kerman. Although this arrangement has been modernized and a street with trees has divided it into two parts, the building could still be reconstructed according to the main design. There was Arg on the northern side which its remains are still available. On the southern side there was Vakeel Mosque which was started on 1766. Vakeel Mosque is a congregation mosque with a square yard and one-storied arches around it along with porches on the northern and southern sides. Its northern porch led to a deep entrance door on the side of the square while the southern porch led to the main Shabestan which was rectangular with five rows of arched spouts on 48 stone ang grooved pillars. The frontal view of the yard includes a stone plinth and tile-works with patterns of natural flowers especially with reddish and yellow colors. In the collection Vakeel also there had been a public bathroom constructed behind the mosque as well as an arched bazaar in its eastern part. [1]

[1] . Hilenbrand, Iranian *Architecture in Safavid Period*, p 557-9

5- CONCLUSION

As it was mentioned before India and Iran had many cultural and artistic relations throughout the history and Indian artists has greatly been influenced by the Iranian art and culture. These influences are not limited to architecture and painting. The more influenced field is the Persian Language and Literature that has taken its roots in the Indian culture. In fact it has paved the way for other elements of Iranian art. Farsi has been the national language of the Indians for several centuries and the masters of the Iranian poetry have been respected by the Indians in those times. Iranian painting and architecture have established themselves in the Indian culture and art in many ways and they have been able to influence the course of Indian painting and architecture with the passage of time.

In the past, Iranian painting mostly depicted scientific, religious and especially literary subjects. Masterpieces of Iranian painting were comprised of the painted copies of **Shahnameh, Xamseh-e-Nezami, Boostan and Golestan Sadi,** and **Xajooy-e-Kermani.** The spread of Persian language and literature brought a distinctive position to Iranian literature in this country. Therefore, this itself was a motive for the new course that the art of painting was going to take.

Humayun's passage to Iran opens a new window to the world of Indian painting. Migration of Abdu-o-samad and Mir Seyyed Ali and following them a group of Iranian artists to Indian a school of painting, called Indian- Iranian school is born in Indian painting.

Indian- Iranian School is formed under the influence of some conditions and the integration of local and traditional painting of Indian subcontinent with the features of Iranian painting in the reign of Mughal dynasty. Here we will explain the political, social and artistic results of the formation and establishment of this school.

The artistic achievements of the formation of the Indian and Iranian painting schools

The influence of this school in different areas is diverse and vast. This school that first was highly influenced by India and Iranian paintings, after some time was so improved that could find an independent identity from its two origins and even influence them. In Babar's era, local painting schools in parallel with the Indian-Iranian painting school were prevalent. These schools, more than other aspects of art, were influenced by the Indo-Iranian painting school, because local paintings which were prevalent in all the Indian sub-continent for religious emphasis and guidance, and were influenced by the principles of Indian sculpture were conveying rough, and spiritless images in which artistic beauties are rarely visible in them. However, there ware improvements in these paintings after the formation of the Indo-Iranian school of painting. They were able to gain an independent identity. Local schools succeeded in rejuvenating local paintings and making them more pleasant. Besides, local artists got the skill of applying the techniques of using different colors from the Indian-Iranian painting school. The Rajput school in the 17^{th} century Hegira was one of the most prominent schools that were influence by the Indo-Iranian painting school. Kongera and Bashora schools also used the Indo-Iranian painting styles in the 17^{th} century. Indian painting began a period of its development in the Baburi era in India. In this period, in the 17^{th} century, old Indian customs were replaced by new characteristics.

Indo-Iranian schools, in addition to Indian schools, influenced Iranian paintings as well. These influence, was not prevalent and wide-spread. However, the Indo-Iranian painting school which was a branch of Iranian painting was able to influence its origin, Iranian paintings, and this is worth studying.

The Indian-Indo painting school, better to be called Indian painting from the time of Jahangir, was able to influence Iranian painting in three ways:

1- At some occasions, along with some Indian ambassadors coming to Iran, there were painters transferring the characteristics of Iranian paintings to Indian paintings, and this transfer was not mono-directional. And Iranian painters also got familiar with their paintings were affected by them.

2- But the most important reason of the influence of Indian painting in Iran, (after the formation of Indo-Iranian painting) was the richness of this art. In other words, Indian paintings by combining the characteristics of Iranian, local and European paintings, became so rich that could be a pattern to be followed by Iranian painters.

In this era, there were several Iranian artists doing paintings in the Indos-Iranian style. One of the most prominent figures among these artists is Mohammad Zaman. In addition to him, there were other artists including, Sheikh Abbas, Ali Gholi Jobbe Dar, Mohammad Rabie, and Mohammad Saber who used the characteristics of the Indian paintings in their paintings.

3-Iranian painters at the time of Shah Abbas the first were interested in imitating and applying the European painting characteristics in their paintings and since Indians were more influenced by the European painting characteristics than Iranians, Iranians, by following the Indian paintings, tried to gain the characteristics of the European paintings. This was one of the most important reasons of being influenced by Indian paintings. But, in general, Indian styles of painting influenced mostly the paintings of the era after the Safavid, because at that time Iranian painting was on the decline. As an example, Iranian painters in the era of Ghajar, to show the depth of their imaginations, used perspectives and images that were just imitations of the Indian painting style.

Political and social fruits of Indian-Iranian school

Immigration of Iranian painters to Indian initiated the formation of Indo-Iranian school in painting. This event had especial social and political influences in the relations of these countries and transferred the Iranian culture and art to India.

In the cultural domain, the migration of the huge number of Iranians to India initiated the spread of Iranian rituals and traditions, language and literature and Islam and the familiarity of Indians with the Iran and its culture.

In political domain, the migration of Iranian painters reinforced the political relations directly and indirectly, for instance, the event of sending forth an Indian painter to Iran by Jahangir to paint the portrait of Shah Abbas and his men. These paintings along with others that were painted from the imaginary visit of Shah Abbas and him and the painting that depicts Shah Abbas II and Aurangzeb embassy were the influential factors in reinforcement and continuation of the political relations among Indian and Iran, the relations that found their embodiment in Paintings. The findings of this study shows that the formation of Indian-Iranian school of painting and the influences of Iranian painting on Indian has its roots in Humayun's visit to Iranian court. But the thing that made the Iranian artists to serve for the Indian court one after the other was not the request of Humayun only. It is obvious that Shah Tahmasb was more willing to keep the artists in Safavid court and not favored his guest's conduct. But Humayun's promises and some of the strict rules that existed in Safavid court at that time made two of the renowned masters of Iranian art, namely Mir Mansoor and Mir Seyyed Ali, enter into Humayun's court. Thus, better conditions of life were one of the most important factors in the migration of Iranian artists to India and the formation of this school. Though many similarities to the Safavid paintings can be seen in the works of this school in its novice years, gradually paintings release themselves from the burden of that much influence and Indian schools leave their influences on them, too. The significant point is that the Indian painter tries hard to present different spiritual moods in faces, while the Safavid painter in his high spirits tries to present an allegorical representation of all the elements involved. After all, we can conclude that the art of painting in Iran has got to such a high level of completeness, integration and liveliness that had the ability to affect Indian painting and

guarantee its evolution in its shining years. Of course, as we mentioned above, Indian art, because of its firm groundings, was able to absorb the favorable elements, mix them with its local elements and create a style which can be called as one of the most fruitful periods of Indian painting.

The influence of Iranian architecture was significant in Humayun's period. Indian Mughal buildings, from Akbar's days (1556-1605A.D) and beginnings of Jahangir's reign (1605-1627A.D) like the buildings of Fateh Pur -sikri, red palaces of Agra castle and Lahore Sekandare and Allah Abad and Ajmir castles and etc, Iranian innovations in the Arc of Shah Neshinha and pillared thresholds of official buildings and bazzars, front door of the mosques in Mihrabs and entrances in wall niches and tablets. A noteworthy point is that Humayun was a devout lover of Iranian art and culture. He was affected by Iranian art and culture in every possible route including architecture which was absolutely Iranian in the beginning. The only difference was that instead of Iranian style tiles according to the Indian tradition colored stones were used after the Khalji kings times. One of the important buildings of this period, e.g Humayun's reign after return from Iran, is the great tomb of Humayun with rosy stone and a garden in the style of Chahar Baghe-e-Isfahan. Also, another small garden named Boohalimeh which its threshold is decorated with Moaragh tiles and an Arab Saray and some smaller tombs which belongs to Humayun's family members and Xayro-al-Manzel which has brick tiles and and **plaster -work** tablets and Bayram Khan's tomb and Altaghi khan's tomb (1566-1567A.D). This type of Iranian architecture's influence is seen even in the works of the beginnings of Akbar's period. For example, the mosques that were built in the time of Akbar in Ajmir and Nagoor and were decorated by moaragh tiles. But Akbar was a devout of original Indian thought and culture. Therefore, at nights, he sat round a fire with Indian thinkers and talked with them. Thus, an attention to local Indian architecture is seen in his time. For instance, in buildings that adopted Iranian styles Rajpout element is seen along with Iranian element. Or in houses halls and bedrooms and Alacheeghs on the roof is made in Rajpout style. But Akbar too much attention to Indian thought and culture bred some disapproval among biased courtiers and lay Muslims. Consequently, prince Salim, later nick named Jahangir, in order to get the support of Iranians against Hindus began to serve the Iranian literature, art and culture. Adopted Safavid clothes and

Iranian house styles, respected Iranian artists like Agha Reza and Abu-al-Hassan, populated popular golden clothes and golden neattings, to the extent that his queen Noor Jahan was also Iranian. Personal taste of this queen instigated the use of white **marble** decorated with precious stones and Iranian pillars. In Panjab, Dehli and Akere the use of Iranian tiles to decorated buildings (Moaragh) became popular again. Vazir Khan's mosque (1634), Daeei Anga (1635), Chinian Vali Mosque (1659), Navvab Sarafraz khan mosque (1671), Fahim khan's tomb known as Nile Gonbad near Homayoo's tomb (1625) in Dehli, Asef khan's tomb (1641), Zinat-al-Nessa's tomb (1669), Ali Mardan khan's tomb (1657), Shah Dareh and Golabi Gardens (1655), Shalimar gardens (1637) entrance door, Zibandeh Baygom's gardens (1646) in Lahore and hundreds of other buildingd are the excellent examples of this Iranian style.

Most famous Iranian style building in Indian is Taj Mahal building in Agra city. This building, as afore mentioned, is the tomb of Arjemand Banoo Baygom, Noor Jahan and Shah Jahan's nephew. It has been inspired by the most elevated taste of Safavid period and has been built in the hands of two Iranian architects dwelling in Panjab, namely Nader-al-Assr Master Ahmad Lahoori and his brother Master Hamid Lahoori. Taj Mahal is a complete imitation of Safavid style with very little differences. One of these differences is the style of elevated **marbles** of Makran which, according to the writings of professionals, has changed the lively and rich Iranian manner into a dozy and lethargic mood of the art of post Mughal period. Another difference is the presence of Rajpouti Four Alacheegh around the dome.

Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan's son in 1678 built a tomb for his wife Bebe Rabiah Dourani in Aurang Abad Deccan which is considered as a light shadow of Taj Mohal. Although, this building is not comparable to Taj Mahal in greatness and mellowness, this is the last great building of Iranian architecture in sweet India. However, in Panjab and Send Iranian style architecture lived. In Aurangzeb buildings and gardens in Lahore principally in the use of green decoration tiles the Iranian style has been followed completely but smaller elements show the characteristics of Timurid or even Raj pout art.

The fall of Safavid, dominance of Afghans and their attacks on Panjab, Iranian methods began to be forgotten and extinct. But in Send, that had remained separated from the rest

of Muslim regions by Seeks and Rajpouts, Iranian art found the last phase of its revival. In Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reign, the decorated tiles style found its way to Panjab and Send again. Sample from this period is Jameh Tateh Mosque (1644 A.D) which is similar to Vizir Khan Mosque in Lahore.

About the architecture of Safavid period we should say that Shah Abbas I city buildings has an distinct place. In fact, it can be said that Safavid architecture began in the reign of Shah Abbas I.

Of course, we should say that Isfahan was an old city, but its great time begins from (1597-8), when Shah Abbas transferred the capital city of Safavid Kingdom from Ghazvin to Isfahan. This city was at the geographical center of Safavid Kingdom, which was developed from Georgia to Afghanistan. The choice of Isfahan as the capital city made the operation against the Uzbeks in Northeast border for Shah Abbas I. And it was assured that, at last, that part will be safe. Additionally, the central position of Isfahan abled him to have more control over the Persian Gulf affairs, which had become an important concern at his time because of the boom in trade and diplomatic activities.

Anyway, Isfahan's must be proud of the honor that history has devoted to their city because everyone who has a little familiarity with Iran has heard the saying "Isfahan is the half of the world". Its composer wants us to know that paradise is the other half. This proudly showiness is the fruit of one man's efforts: the Great Shah Abbas.

Two key factors of Shah Abbas's main plan for Isfahan were Chahar Bagh and Naghsh-e-Jahan Square. Also, in the reign of Shah Abbas two of the greatest masterpieces of Safavid architecture were built: Sheikh Lotfallah's mosque and King's Mosque, which were built under his own supervision.

About the peak of Safavid architecture in Shah Abbas times we should note that most of the Safavid kings were interested in building great places. Even some of them strongly supported this kind of buildings. Their centrifugal government was the main reason for the collection of all these building in the capital city. Thus, it is not a matter of amazement that the center of Iran became a base for architectural activities and other states like Azerbaijan, Khorasan and Fars that were once in the center of attention which

were abandoned in this respect. Anyway, the number of buildings remained from this period is to a degree that show state support has replaced court support.



1. BABUR (1526-1530)

1.BABUR (1526-1530)



2. HUMAYUN (1530-1556)



3. AKBAR (1556-1605)



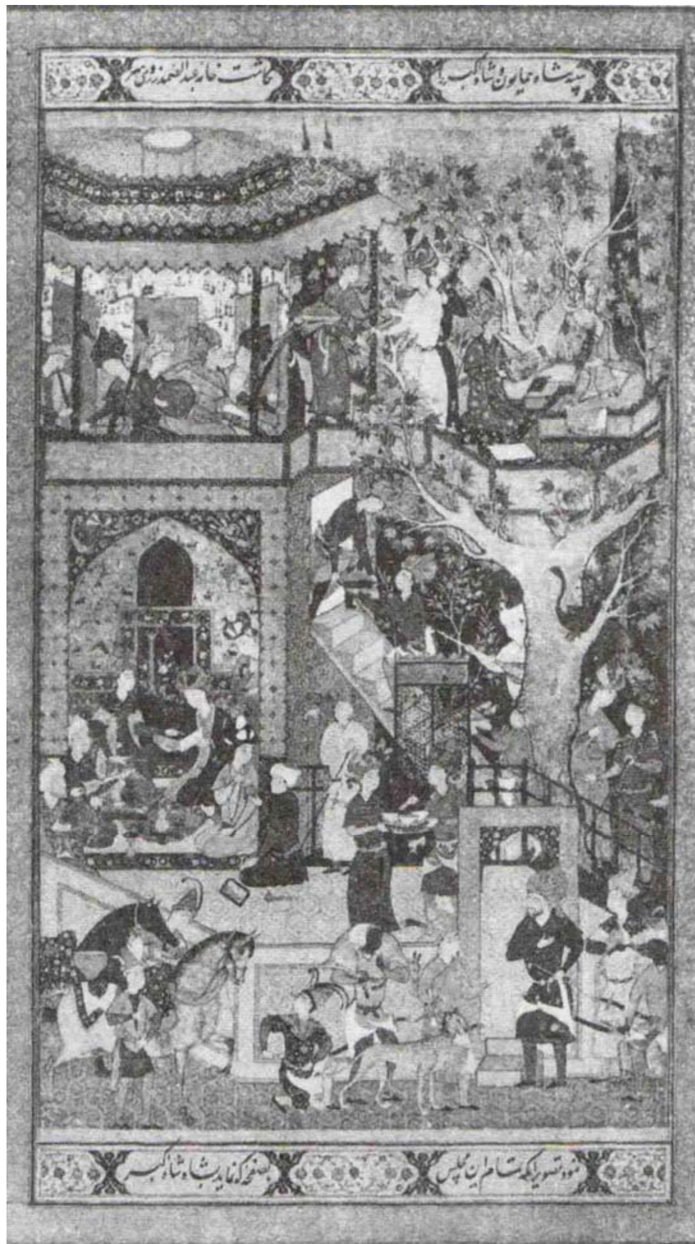
4. JAHANGIR (1605-1627)



5.SHAHJAHAN(1627-1658)



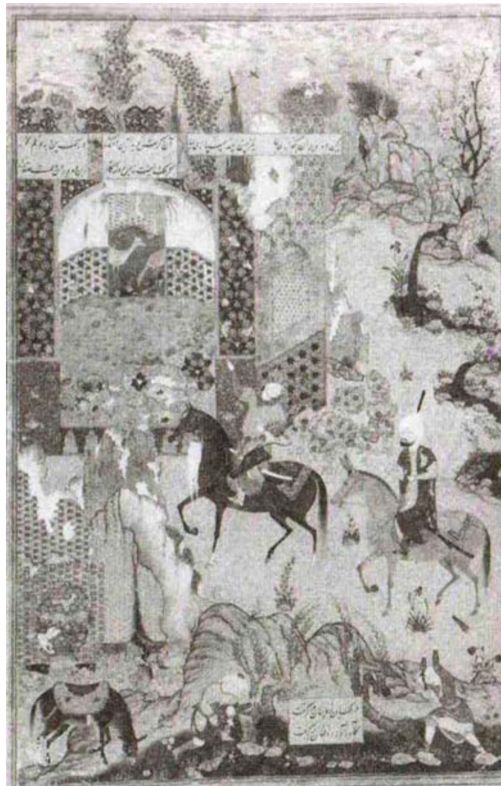
6.AURANGZEB(1658-1707)



7. Young Akbar gives a painting to his father as a gift, late 1550; blur water paint on paper, 14×23 cm, Tehran, Golestan Palace Library



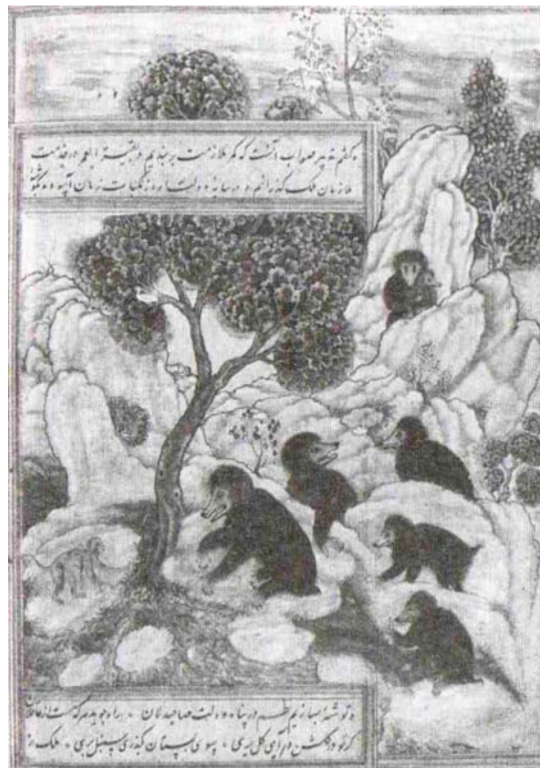
8. *Nightmare of Zahhak*, 28 $_{v}$ sheet, *Shahnameh of Tahmaseb*, Tabriz, 1325-1335, 34.2×27.6 cm, Personal Collection, USA



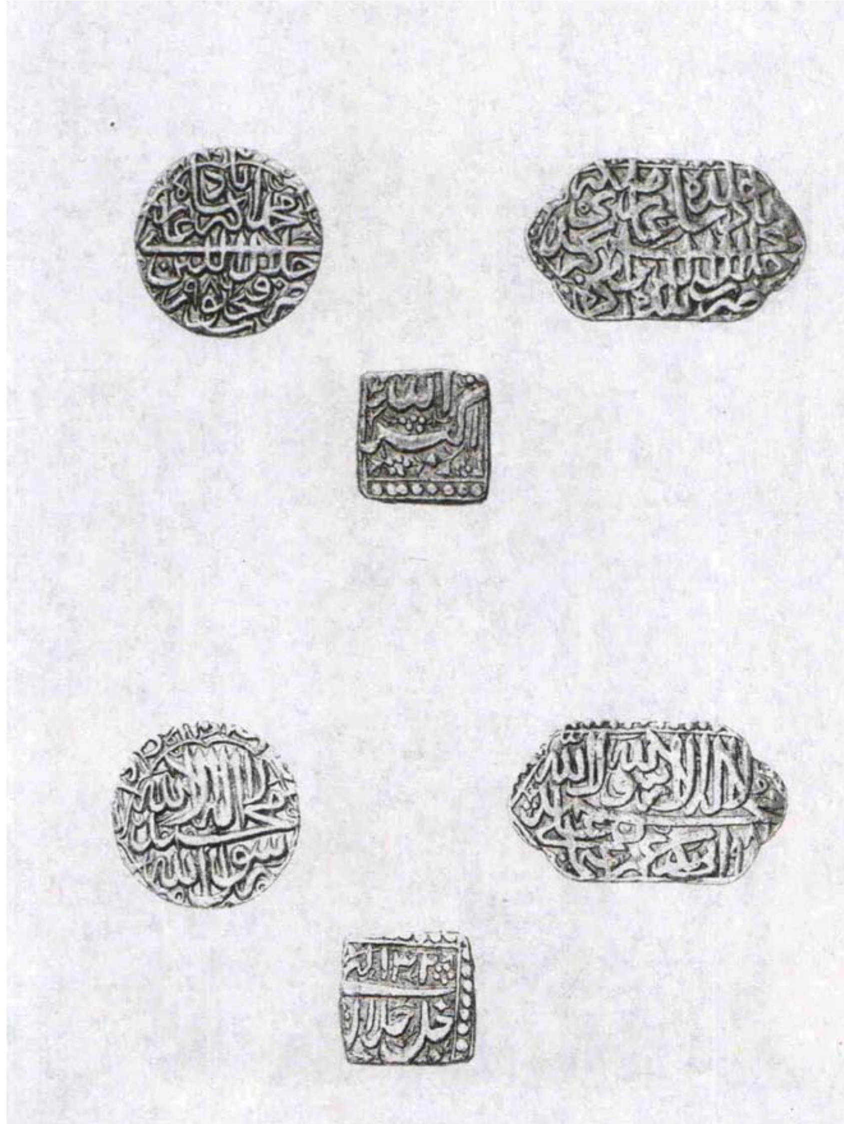
9. Noushirvan and an Owl in a Ruined Palace, *Khamseh of Tahmasebi*, Tabriz, 1539-1543, 30.4×19.4 cm, London, British Museum, Eastern Copy, 15V sheet



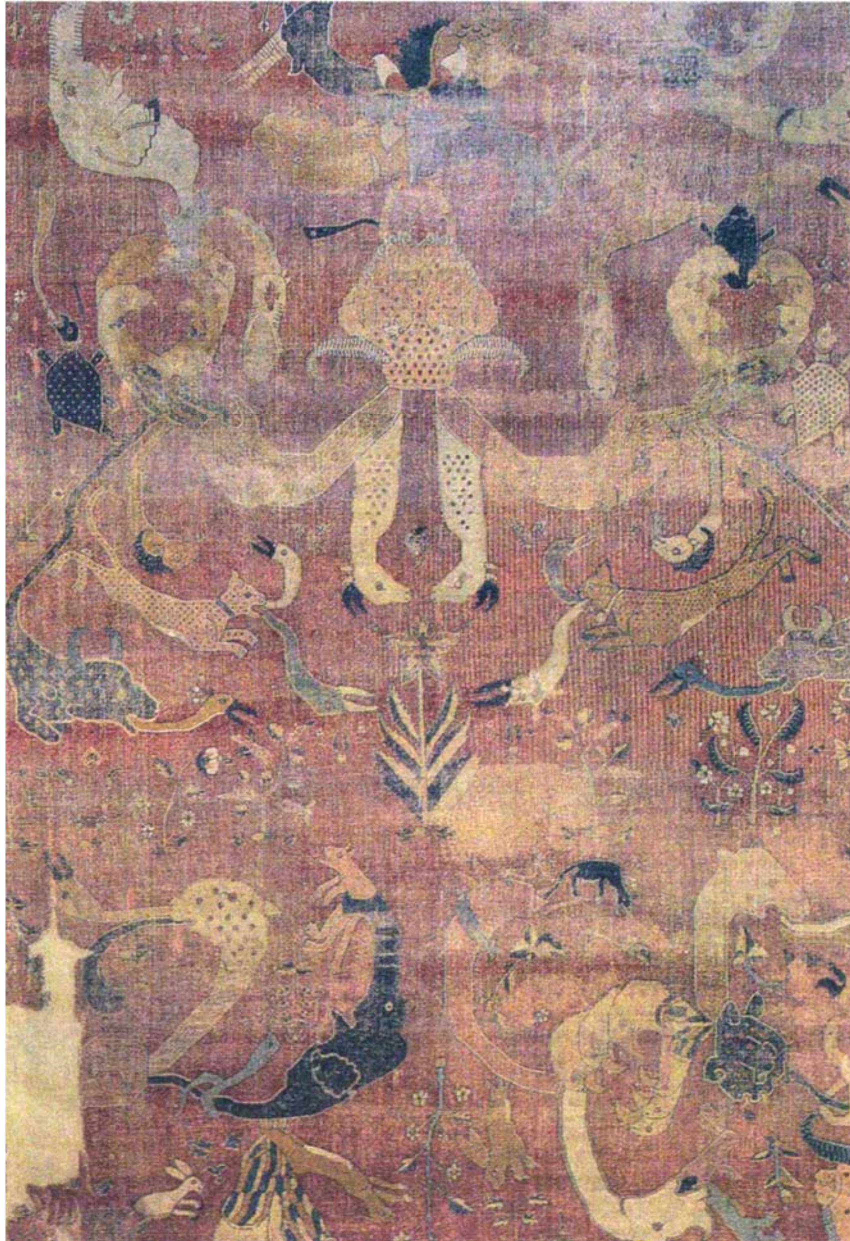
10. Young king with a piece of jewel in his hand, 23_v sheet, from *Later Moragha of Shah Jahan*, approx. 1645,15_v sheet , 36.7×23.8, Los Angeles, Art Museum of Canty,



11. Brave monkey informs bears of his destiny, tile, *Anwar Soheili*, 1570, London, School of Eastern and African Studies, No. 10102, 181V sheet

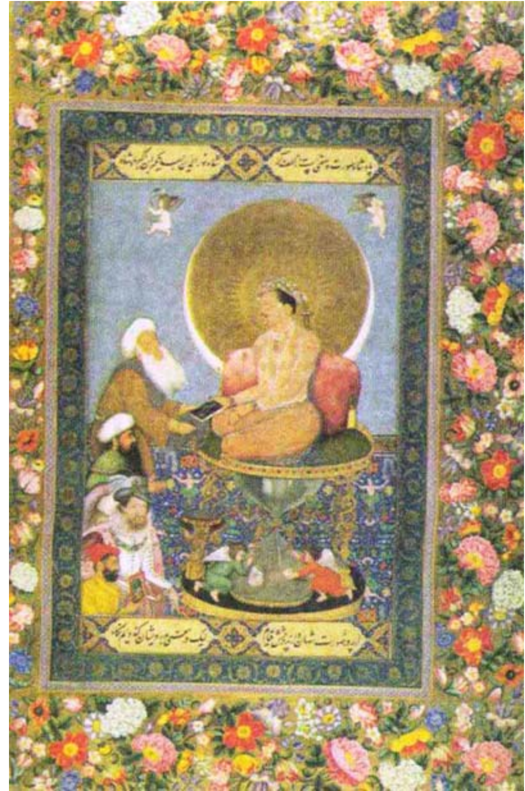


12. Back and face of 3 coined seals in Fathpur Sikri, New York, American Association of Coin Identification

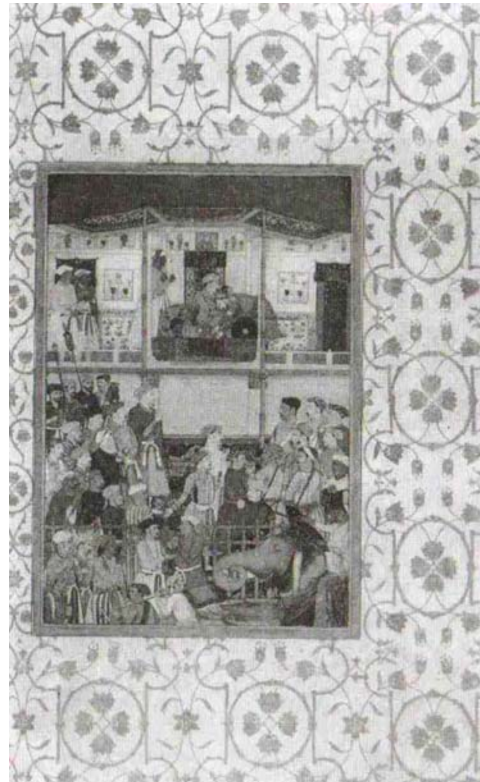


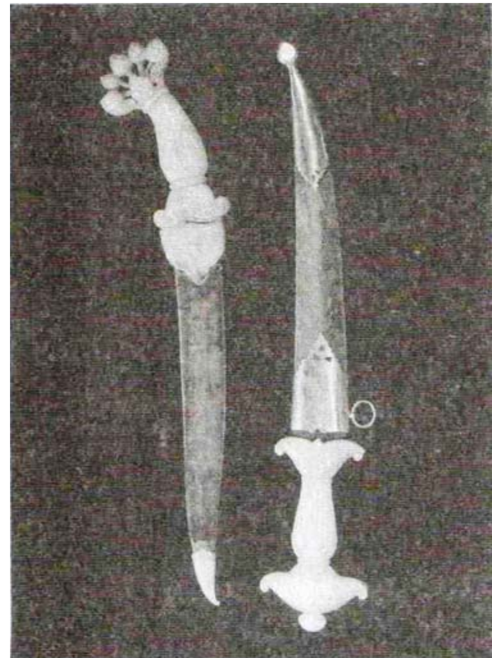
13. Piece of Animal Carpet, Lahore, approx.1600, wool on cotton background, Collection of Barrel, Glasgow

14. Bichter, Jahangir prefers a Sufi for kings, Margha of Jahangir, around 1615-1620, 27.5×18.1 cm, Washington DC, Freer House of Fine Arts,

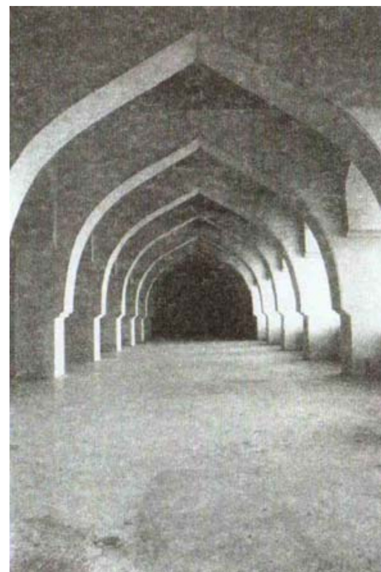


15. Balchend, Jahangir's farewell to Khuram before marching the army, *Padeshah Nameh*, 1656-1657, Vinzor, Royal Library, No. HB 149, 43V sheet

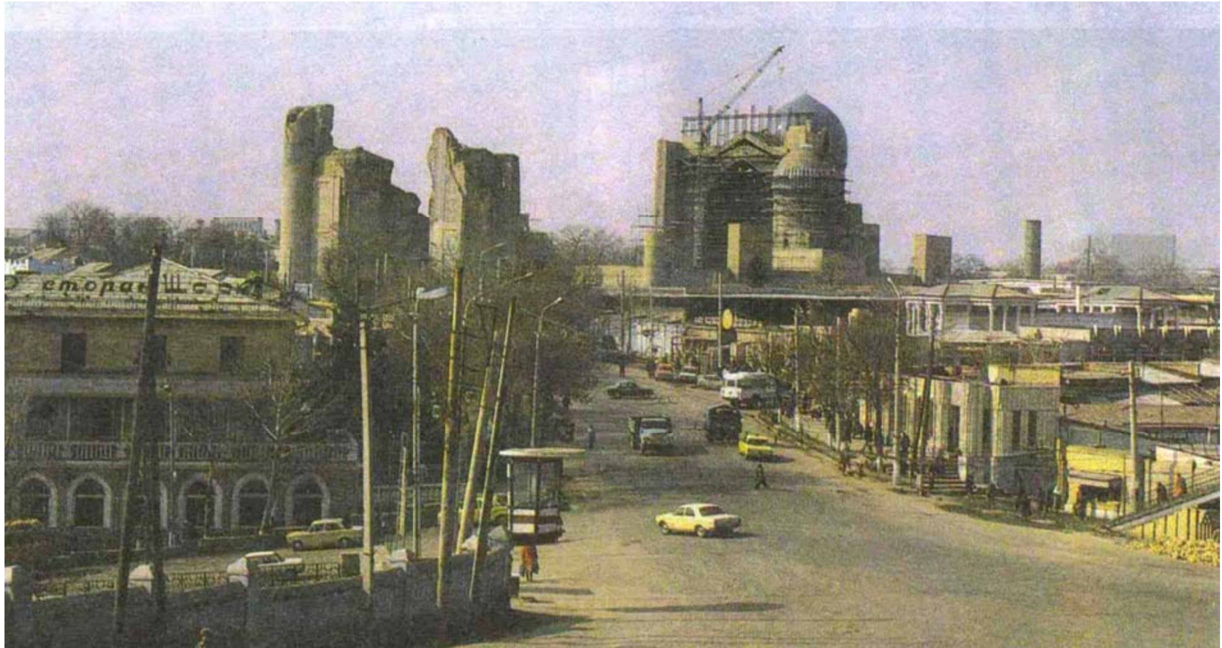




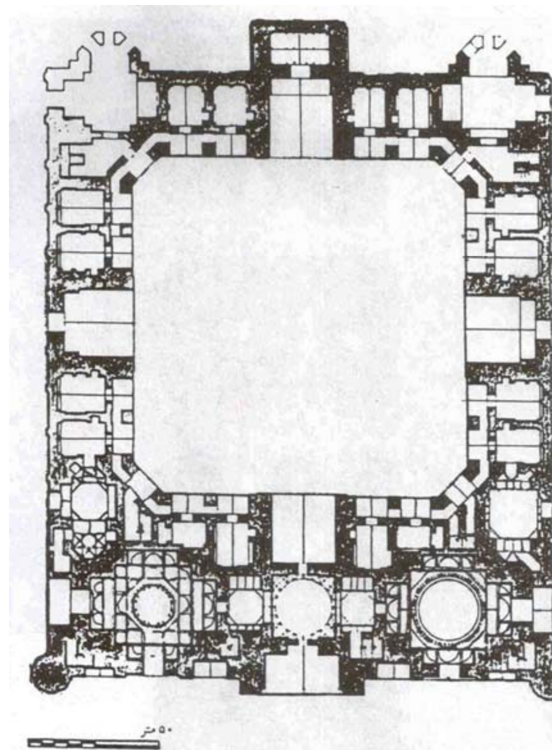
16. Dagger and Its Sheath, Late 17th Century, national devoted, Puwi Castle



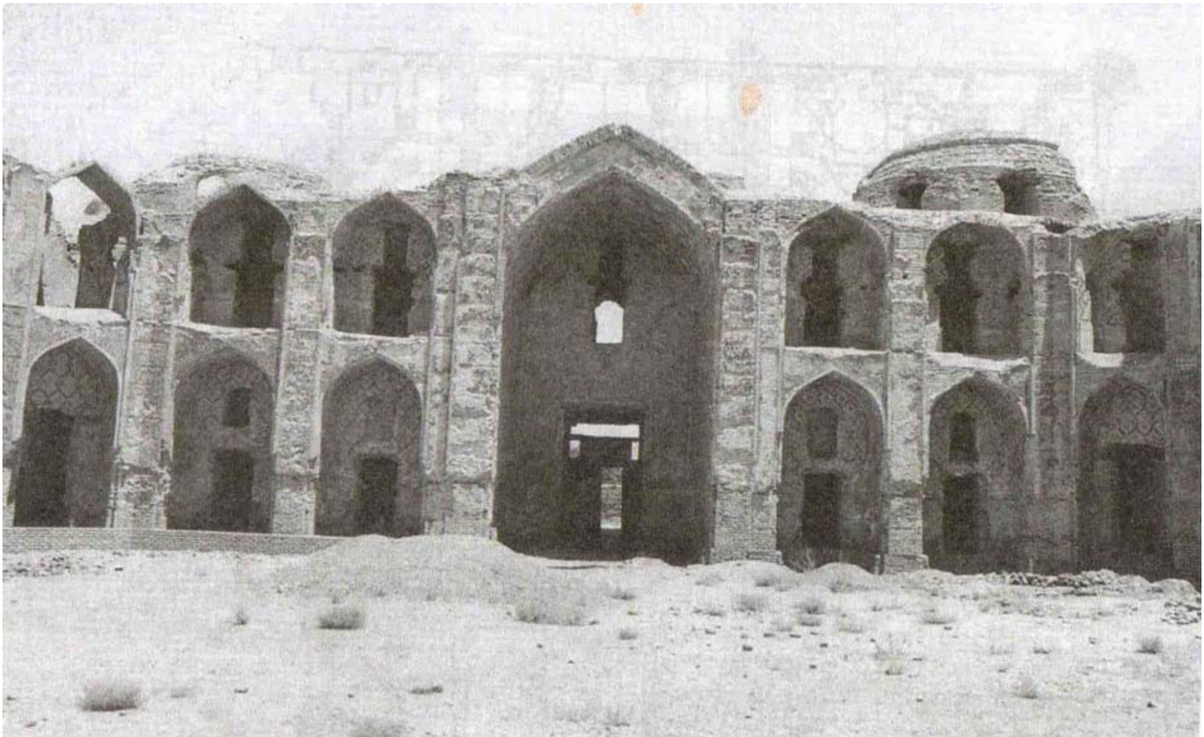
17. Golbarge, shortcut to Jame Mosque



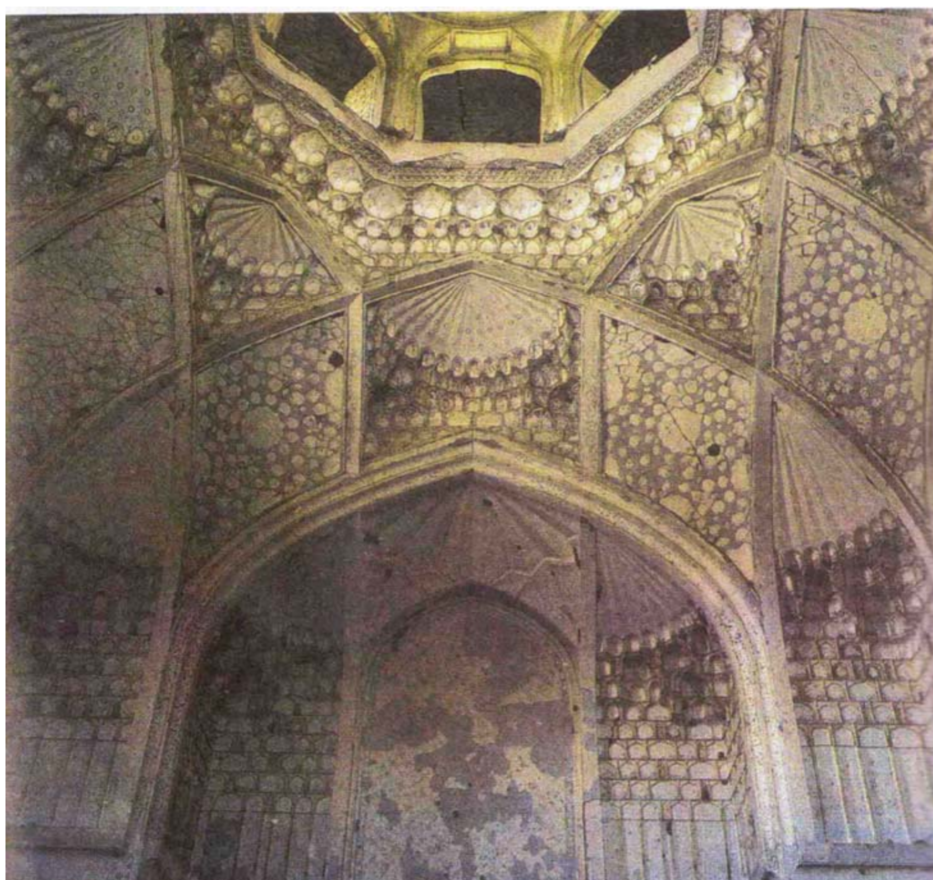
18. Samarqand, Bibi Khanum Mosque, 1399-1404



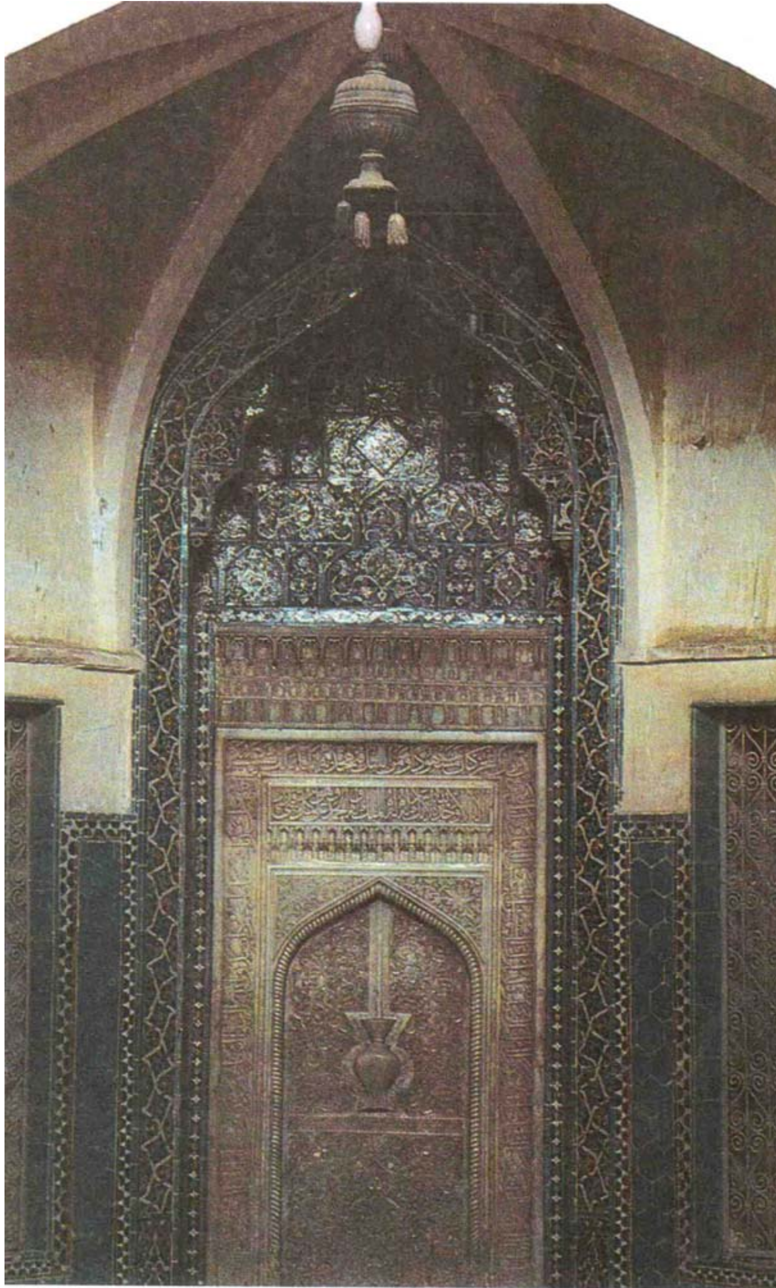
19.Khargerd, plan of Ghiasieh School, 1442-1445



20. Khargerd, view of Ghiasieh School



21.Khargerd, Ghiasieh School, internal arches

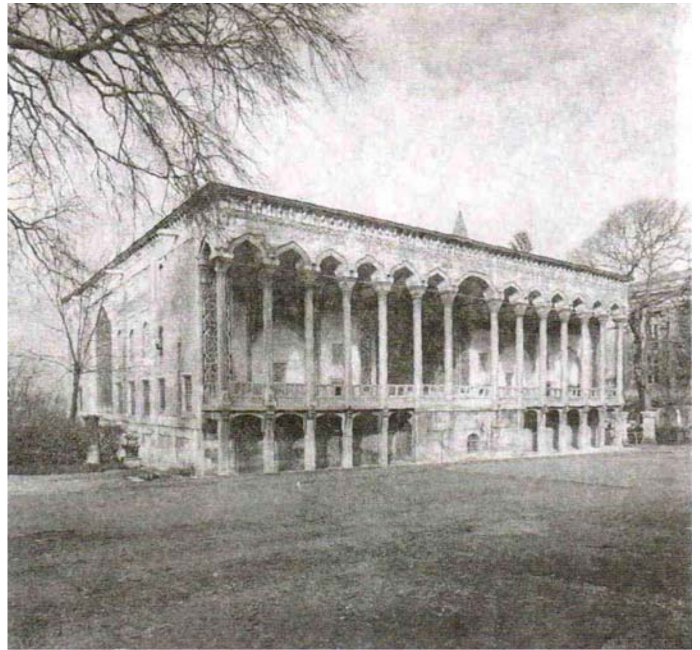


22. Yazd, inside Mir Chaghmagh Mosque, 1437



23. Hasn Keifa, Shrine of Zeinol Mirza, approx. 1473

24.Istanbul, Chinili Koushk, 1472



25. Delhi, Puraneh Castle, Ghaleh Kohne Mosque, 1540-1545, eastern view

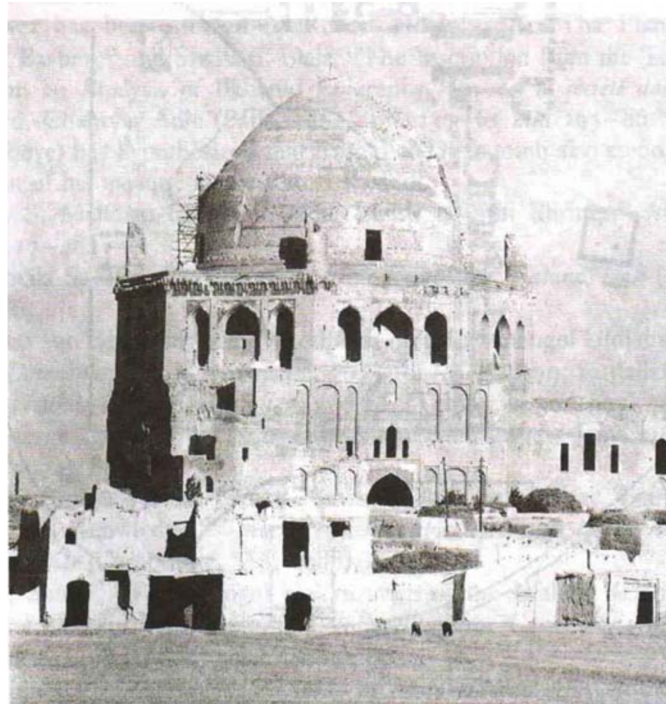




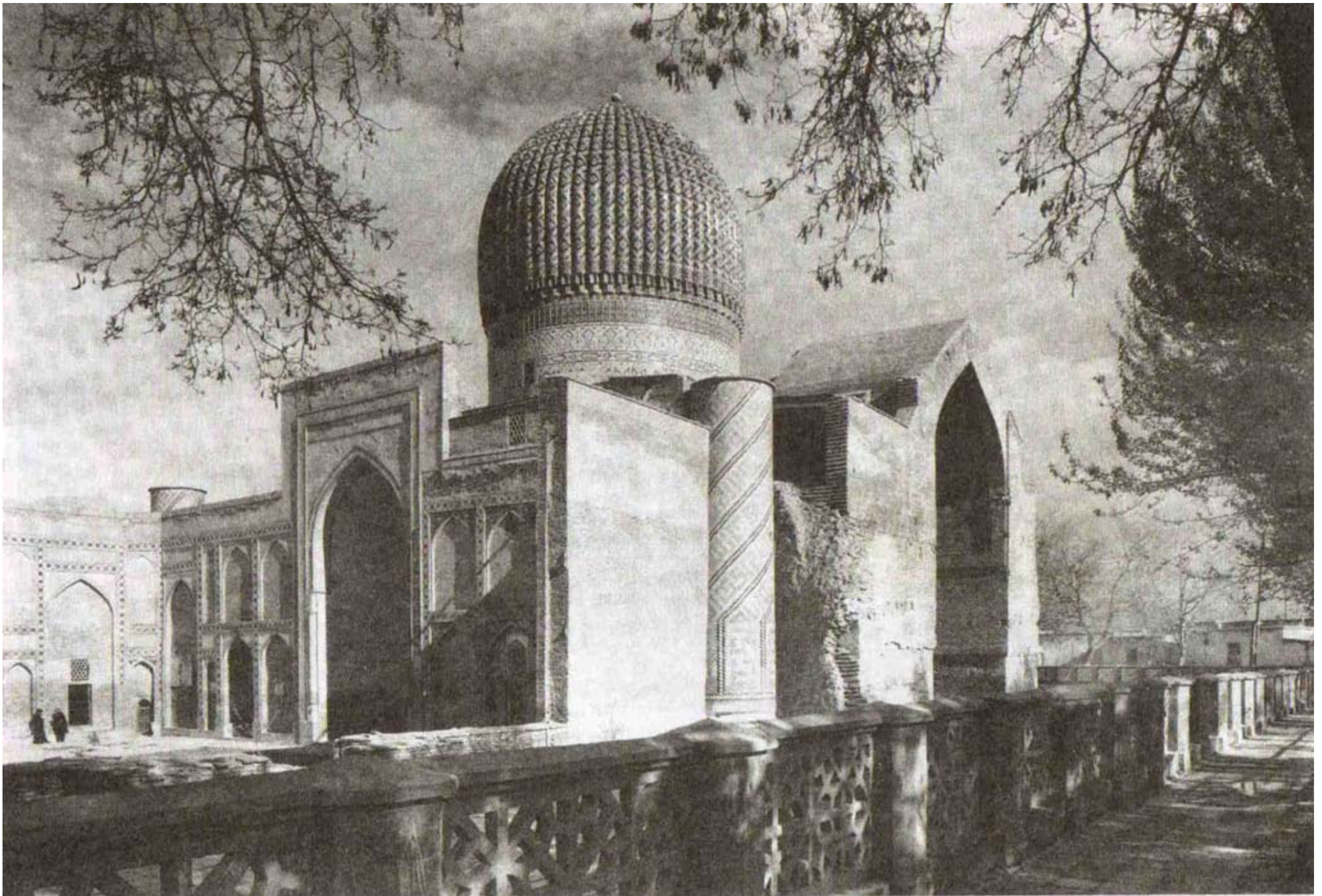
26. Sesse Ram, Shrine of Shir Shah Sur, 1538-1545



27. Delhi, Shrine of Humayun, 1562-1572, southern view



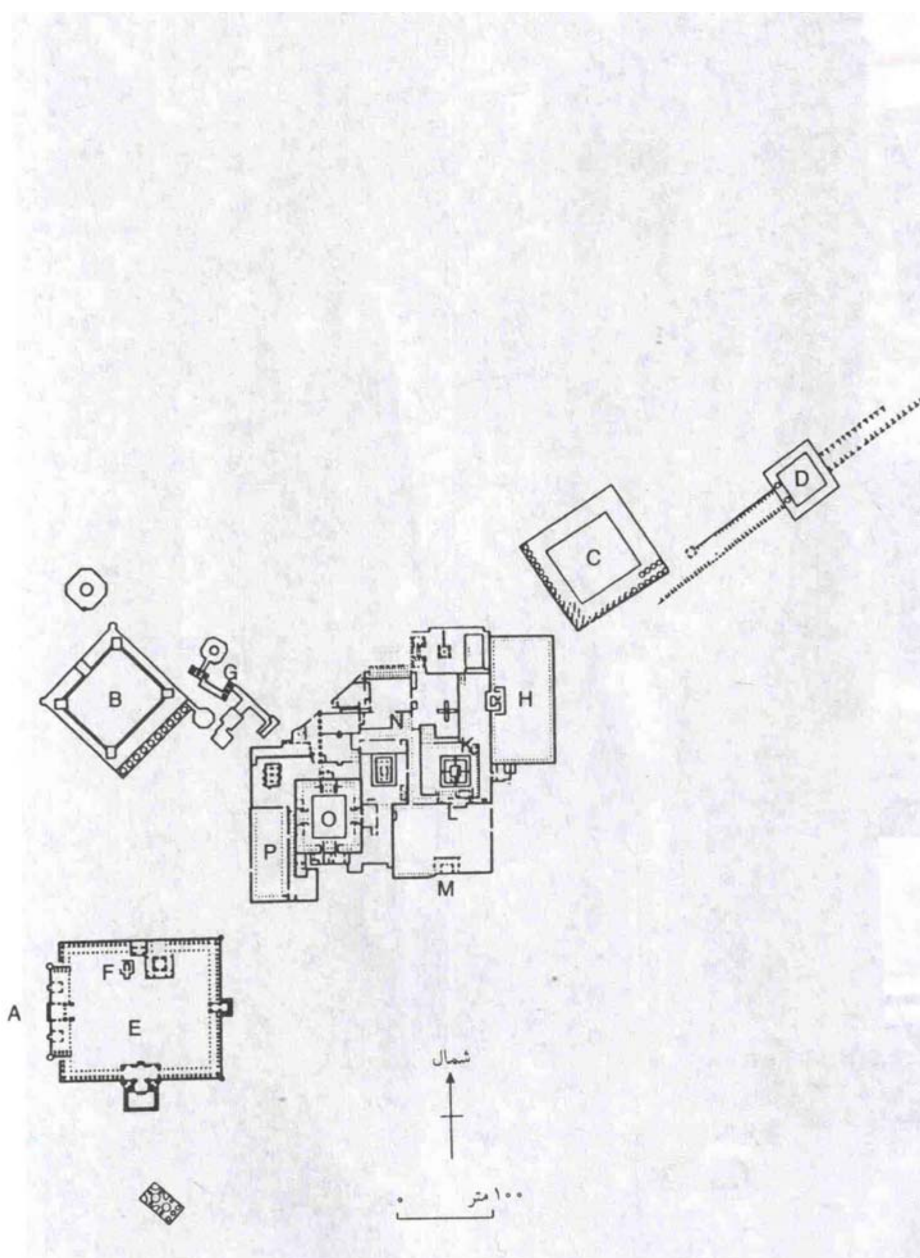
28. Sultanieh, Shrine of Uljativ, 1307-1313



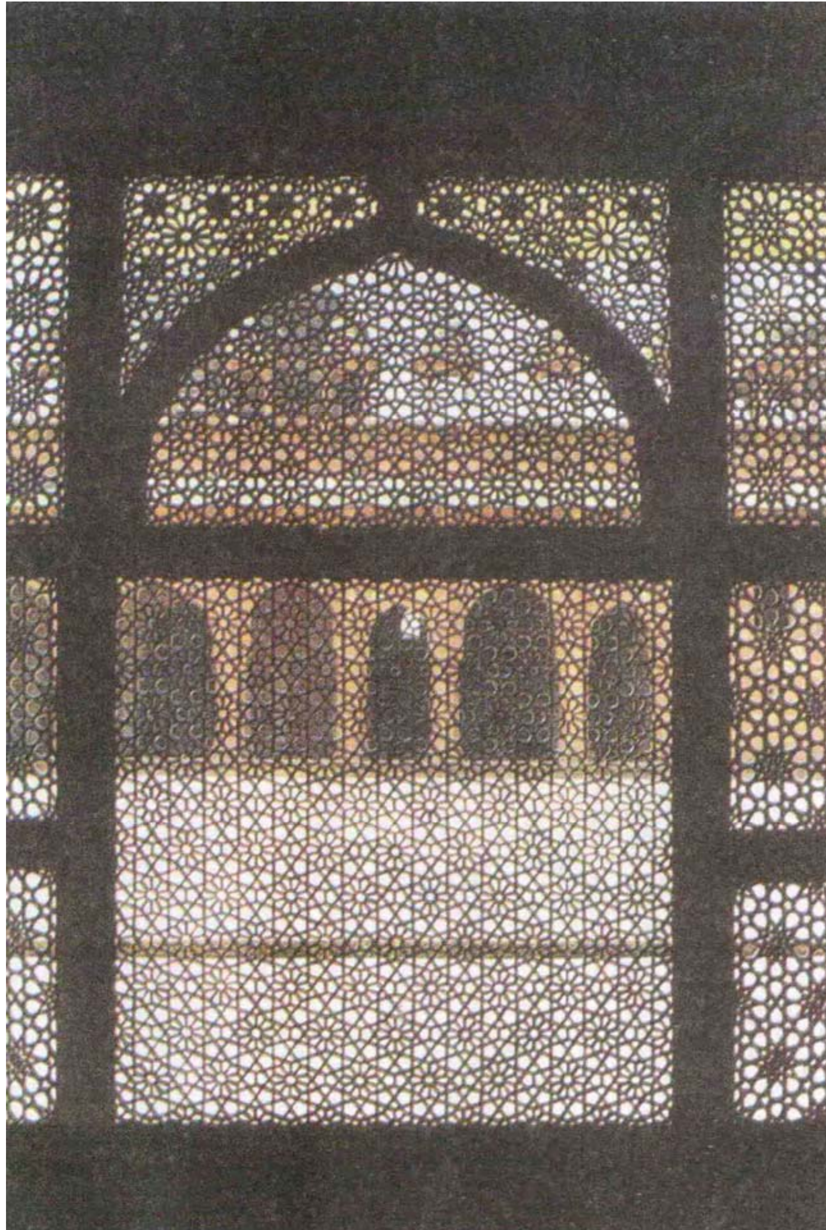
29. Samarqand, Shrine of Mir, around 1400-1404



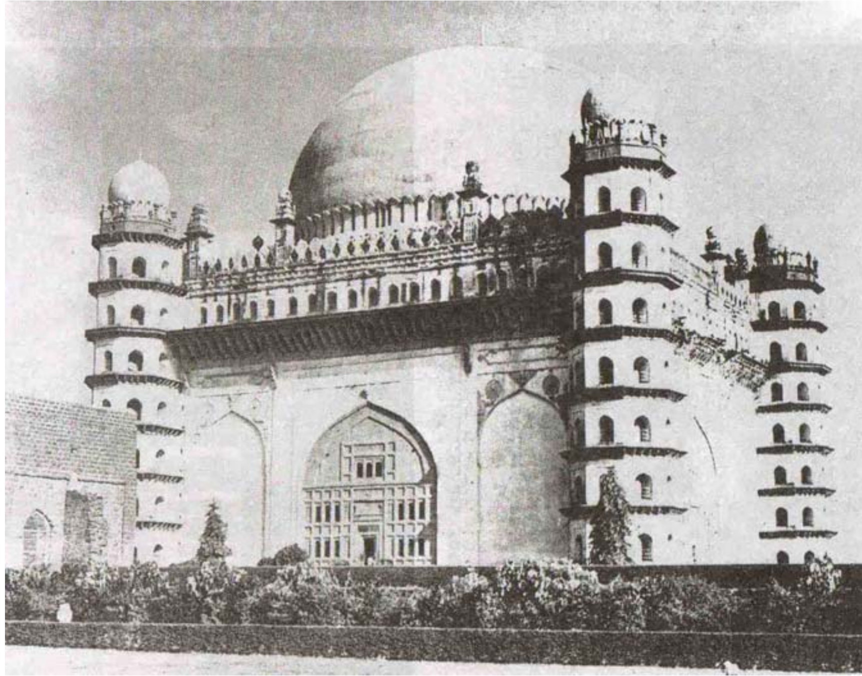
30. Agra, Red Castle, Jahangiri Area, 1565



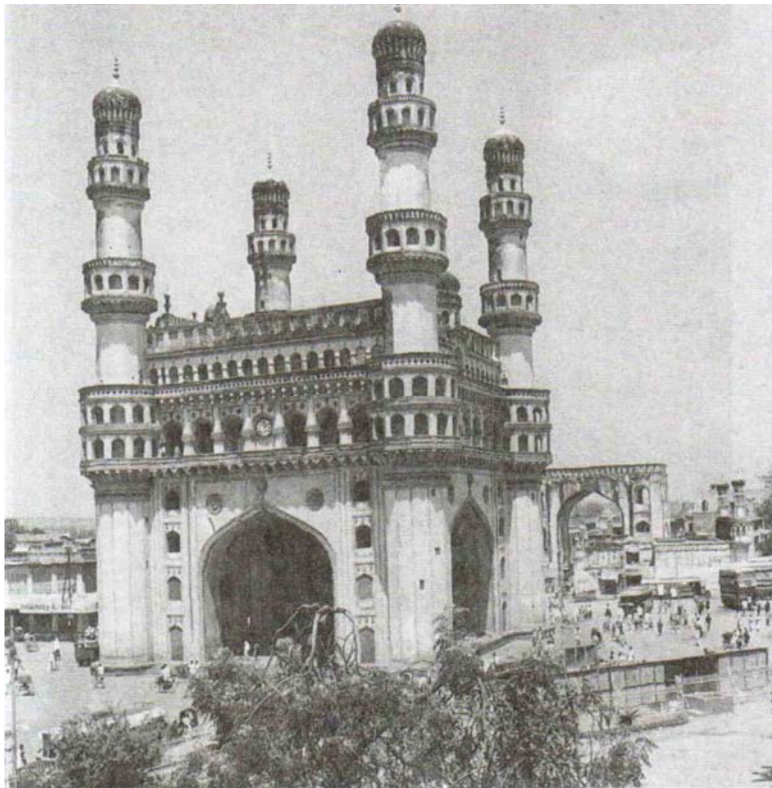
31. Plan of Fatehpur Sikri, 1571-1579



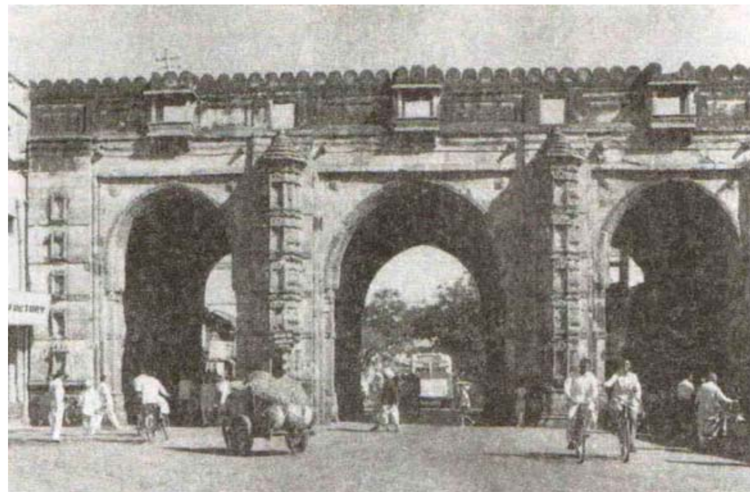
32. Fatehpur Sikri, Shrine of Selim Choshti, 1573-1574, marble wall



33. Bijapur, Shrine of Muhammad Ali Shah, 1656



34. Hydar Abad, Chrminar, 1590-1591



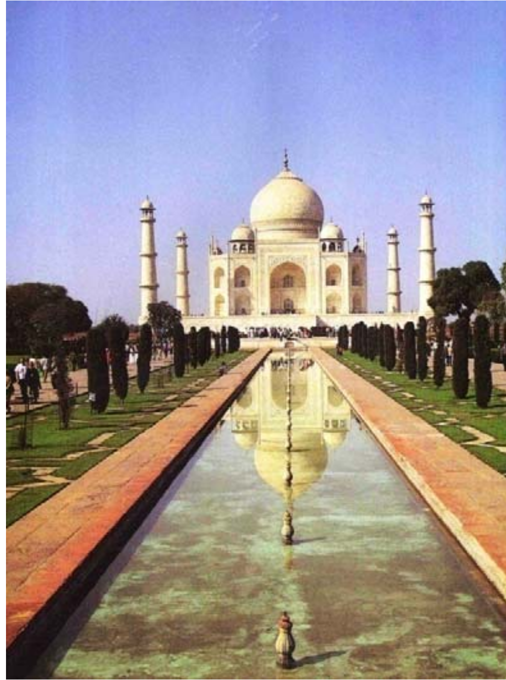
35. Ahmad Abad, Tin Darvazeh, 1423



36. Sekandreh, Shrine of Akbar, 1605-1613



37. Lahore, Shrine of Jahangir, 1627-1634



38.Taj Mahal



39. Lahore, Vizier Khan Mosque

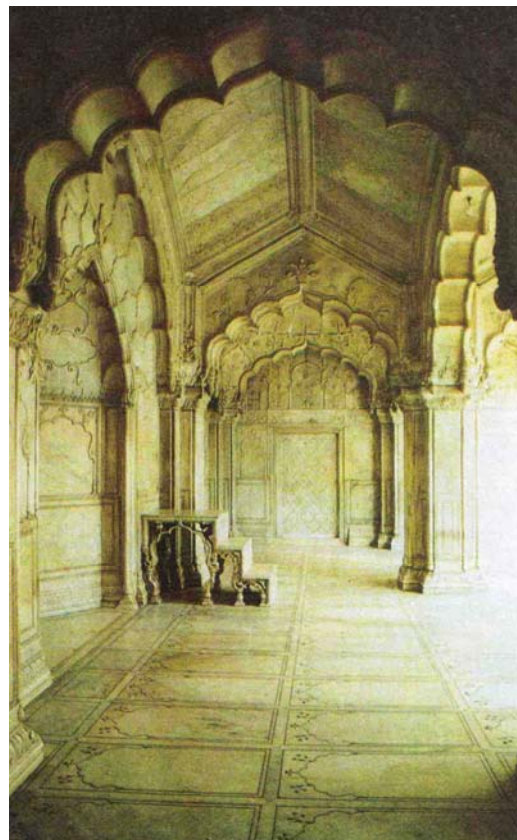


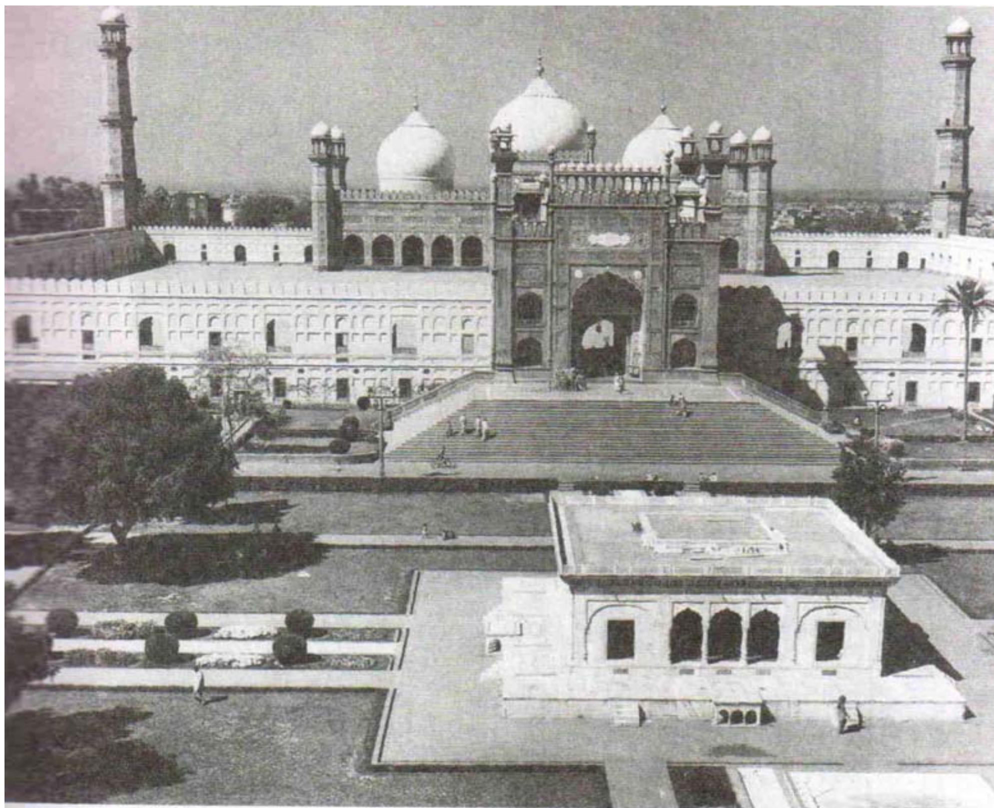
40. Delhi, Red Castle, 1639-1648, Special Diwan



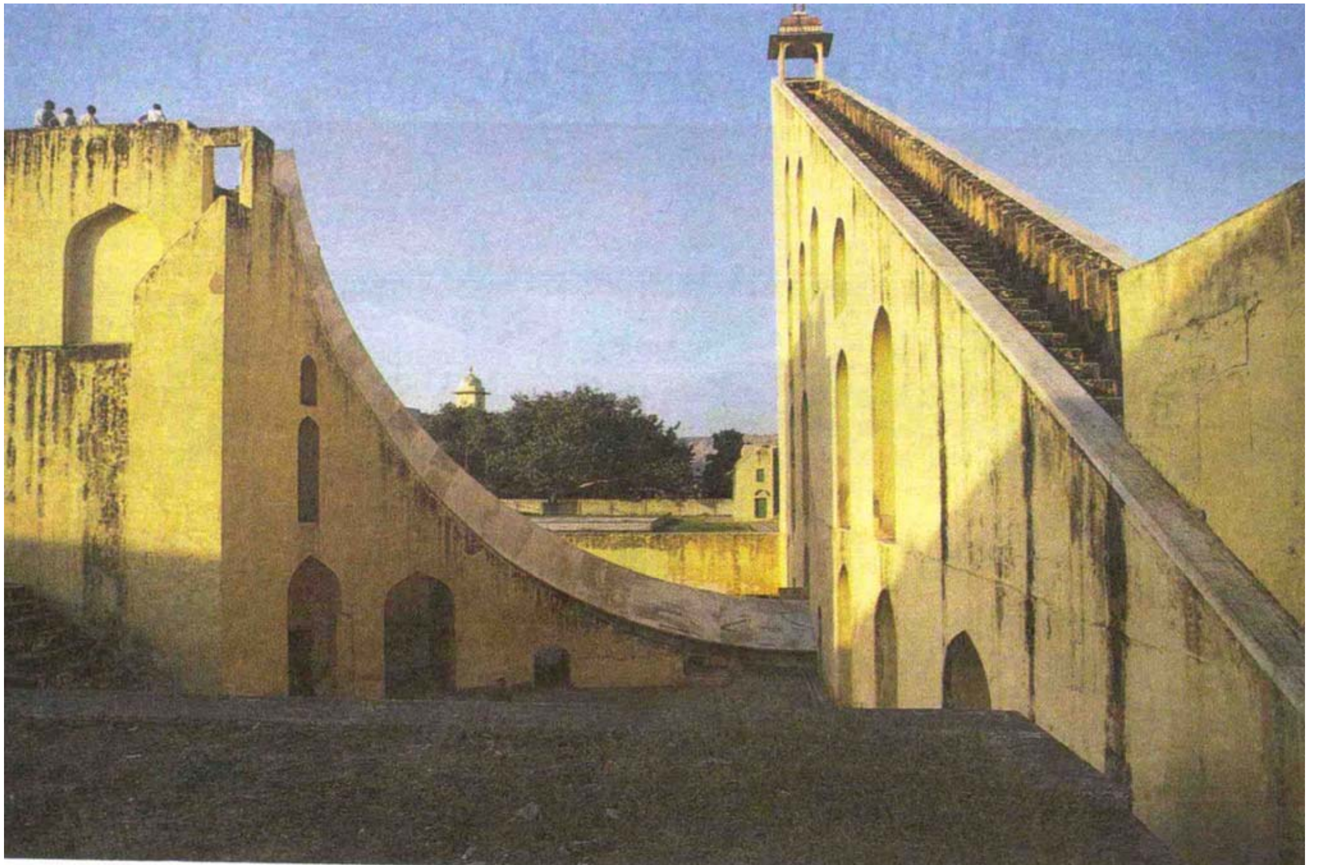
41. Lahore, Gardens of Shalimar, completed in 1642-1643

42. Delhi, Mouti Mosque, 1662, intern





43. Lahore, Royal Mosque, 1673-1674



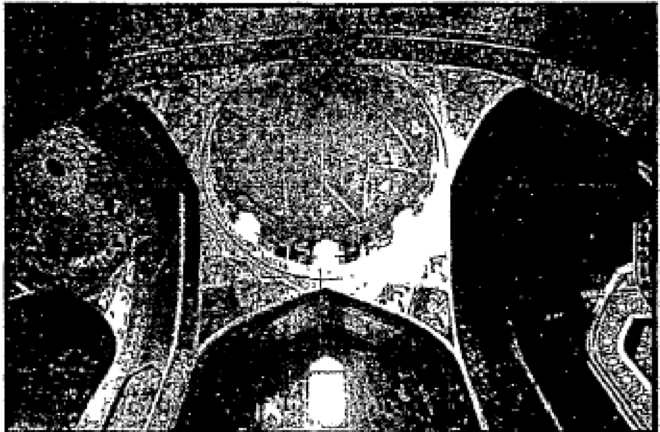
44. Jaipur, Jantar Mantar, 1734



45. Delhi, Shrine of Safdar Jang, 1754



46. Briton, Kingdom House, 1815-1822





47. Interior of Vanak Ghurch



48. Shah Abbas, the first, receiving Mahamad Khan, Turkamanesta,s ruler



. 49. Shah Ismail in war with the Uzbaks



50. Reception of Shah Abbas, the first



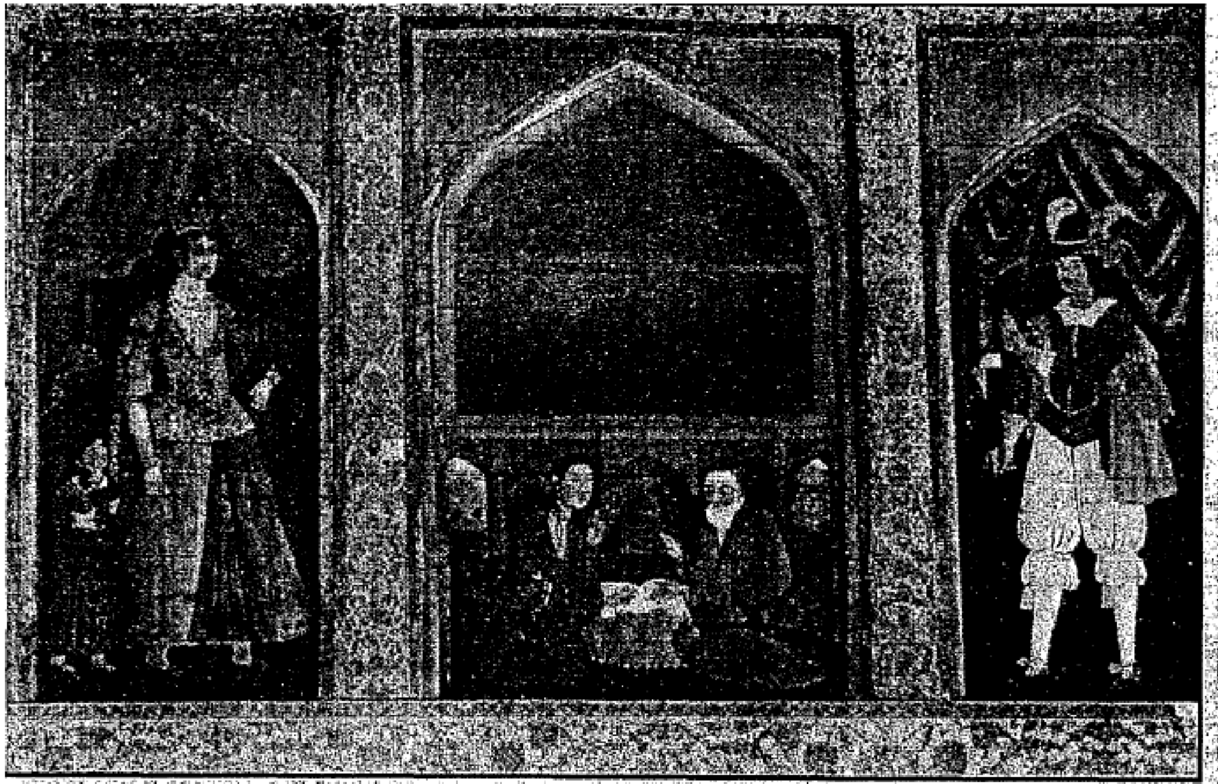

. 51. from the series of lover and beloved of chelsotoon



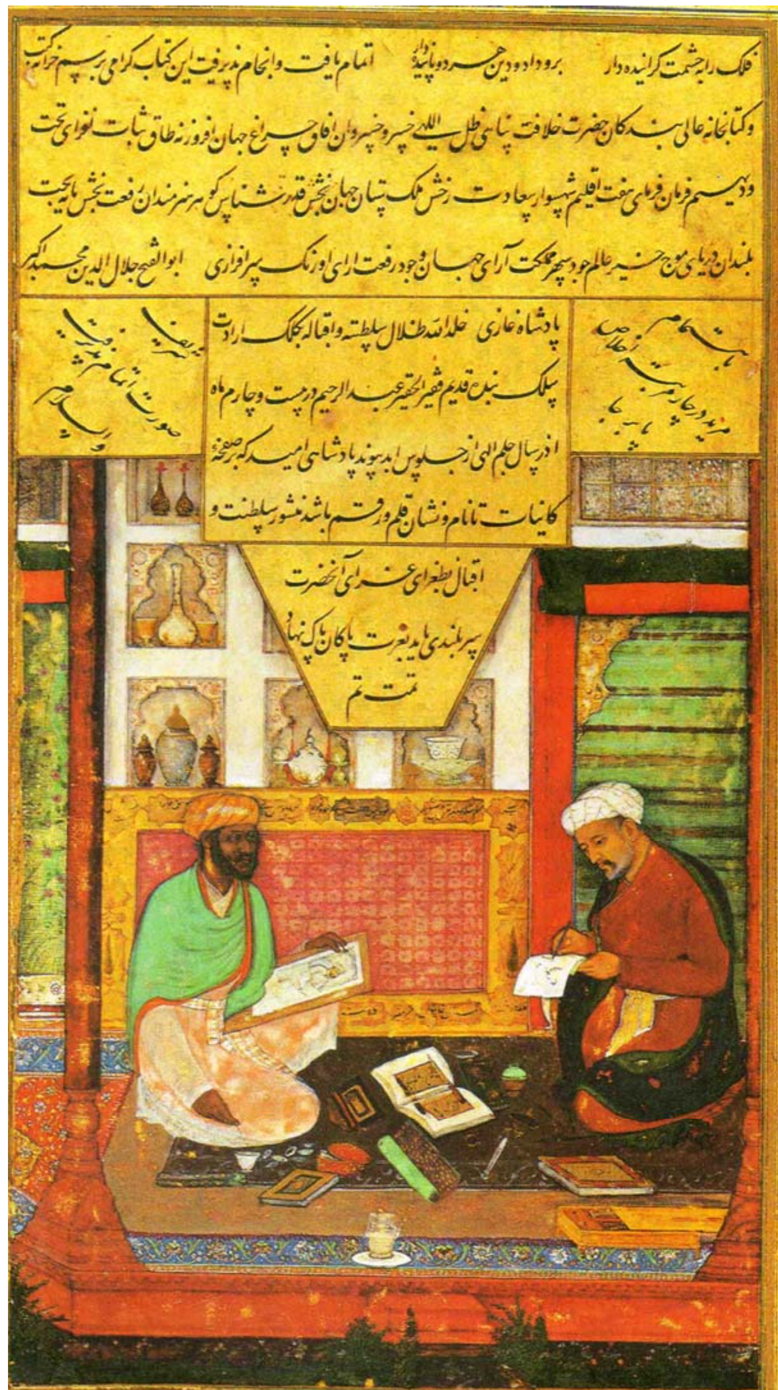
52. Lover and beloved (Suskians house)



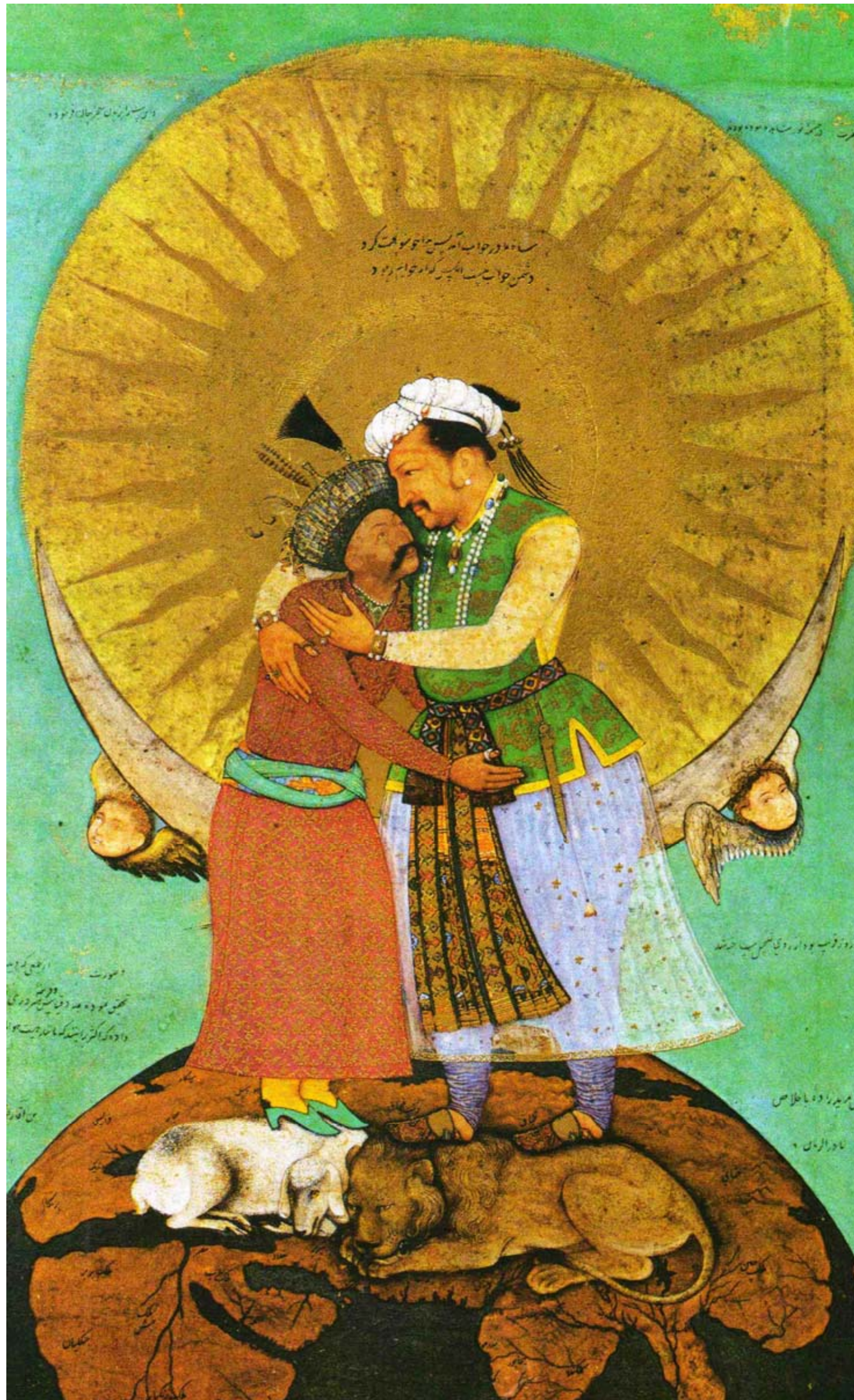
53. from wall painting of the Suskians House, single figure of a man



54. Reception Ceremony, Chelsotoon wall paintings



55. Dulat the Painter and Abdal- Rahim the scribe painted by Dulat. Mughal School



56. Jahangir’s Dream painted by Abul Hassan. Mughal School



57. *Hunting Scene of Khosrav*, from Khamse Nezami that belongs to Dyson Prince



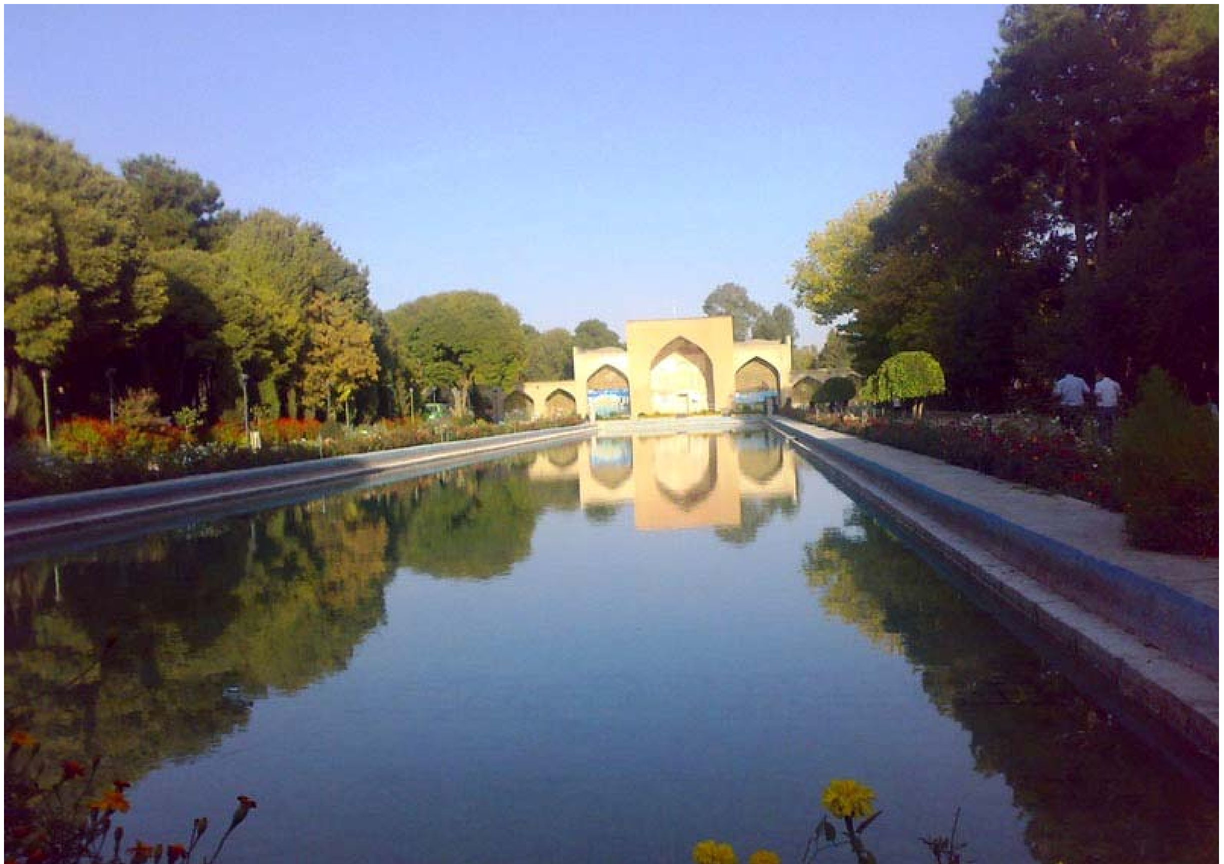
58. Abdul-Samad Shirazi, *Coach and Horse*, 1550 AD, Golestan Palace Museum, Tehran,



59. Obeid son of Agha Reza, *Shah Jahan and Courtiers*, a scene of *Padeshah Nameh,* 1596 AD.



60. Harun's shrine in Isfahan, 1513 A.D



61. chehelsotoun palace,Isfahan



62. Khajo Bridje ,Isfahan



63. Allah Verdi bridje,Isfahan

Contents



Dedicated to:

My Wife “Maya” and My Son“Sharmin”

Figures

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